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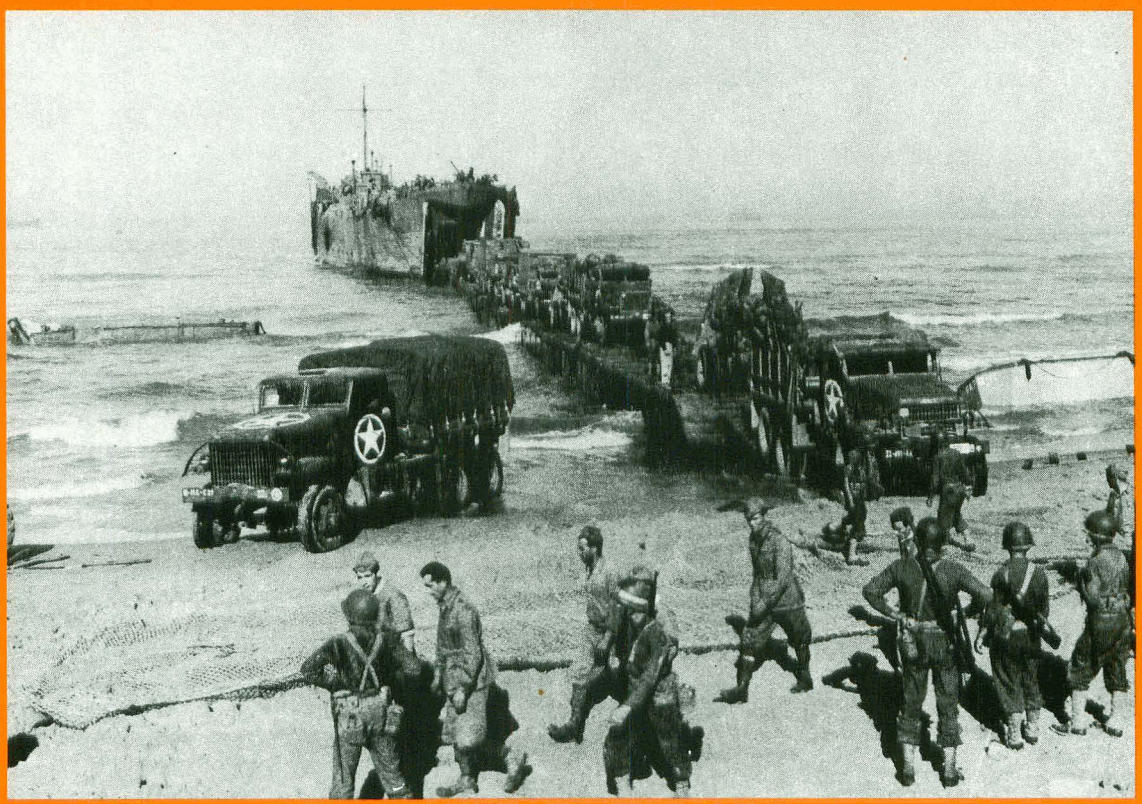

How Mussolini Crushed the Mafia in Italy, and How the United States Revived It

James J. Martin

America's Changing View of Mussolini and Fascism

Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story

Mark Weber

Murray Rothbard: A Tribute

On the Importance of Revisionism

Murray N. Rothbard

Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial'

Jews as World War II Underground Fighters

William B. Ziff

— And More —

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Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words—and the deeds—of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The Establishment which rules ordinary Americans *needs* to keep World War II alive—in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

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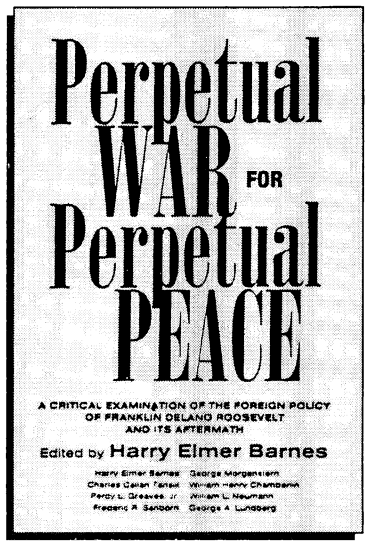
Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did—virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.


Perpetual
WAR FOR
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PEACE
A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND ITS AFTERMATH
Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes

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IN THIS ISSUE

The Death and Life of the Mafia in Italy: From Suppression by Mussolini to Revival by 'Liberation' 2
James J. Martin

America's Changing View of Mussolini and Italian Fascism 6

Historians View the Mafia 14

Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story 23
Mark Weber

Anne Frank 31

Murray Rothbard, 1926–1995 33

On the Importance of Revisionism for our Time 35
Murray N. Rothbard

Zündel's Office-Home Damaged in Arson Attack 38

Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial' 40
Mark Weber

Executive Fired for Translating *Journal* Items 43

Revisionist Books Seized in German Police Raid 43

Revisionist Center Offers 'Truthful History' 43

Jews as Underground Fighters in the Second World War 44
William B. Ziff

Letters 46

On the Cover:
American troops land at Gela beach, Sicily, July 10, 1943, as part of the Allied invasion of Italy.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

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Italy

But on October 22, 1927, the first result of the offensive was announced: a mass trial of *Mafiosi* began that followed a dragnet which scooped up more than 30 leaders at Termini Imerese.[7] This resulted, on January 11, 1928, in the conviction of 147 persons, seven of whom received life at hard labor, eight receiving sentences of 30 years, and an additional five getting 25 years.[8]

Though later writers conveniently overlooked the reported facts and tried to create the impression that the defendants were the victims of "drumhead" proceedings which trampled on their "civil rights," these defendants apparently had the opportunity and resources to hire a battery of 60 lawyers to head up their defense. Reporters concluded that the organization had now surely received its "death blow."[9]

Actually, Mussolini's assault on the Mafia had barely begun. On February 8, a new trial of 341 Mafia suspects began in Palermo,[10] followed by the arrest and trial, also in Palermo, of an additional 379 persons from Agrigento and Caltanisetto.[11] Some 500 police were involved in the latter case, in which the defendants were charged with, among other things, 500 major crimes, including 62 murders.

On March 7, 1928, the court at Termini Imerese convicted 67 more persons for various crimes, and sentenced them to terms of from two to 27 years.[12] Special penal farms were created on the Lipari Islands, off the north coast of Sicily, where these sentences were to be served.[13]

New York Times Applauds Mussolini

From this time on, feature articles on this sensational program crowded into the press of the world, and no newspaper outside Italy exceeded *The New York Times* in breadth of coverage. A column and a half story on January 16, 1928, trumpeted, "Breaking the backbone of the Mafia is one of Premier Mussolini's great achievements."[14] A *Times* editorial the following day praised the police executive responsible for directing this drive, Prefect Cesare Mori of Palermo, a veteran of almost 40 years of service in the Italian police. Said the *Times*, "Prefect Mori of Palermo, who has broken the back of the Mafia in Sicily, will go down in history as a deliverer and superman."[15]

The *New York Times* ultimately ran three commendatory profiles of Mori, probably the most admiring written by the paper's own correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, on March 4, 1928,[16] which also included a photograph of Mori and a picture of a group of alleged Mafia on trial, enclosed in a large cage. This tactic, employed a number of times during mass trials, was intended to protect the judge, witnesses and jury from personal attack from one or another of the defendants. Correspondent Cortesi concluded that police working under Prefect Mori had made arrests in 79 of 361 municipalities, totaling 1,086 men belonging to five gangs, and accused, among hundreds of serious crimes, of 357 murders alone. Between May 1926 and the end of March 1928 eleven policemen had been killed and another 350 wounded in what amounted to virtual battles with the Mafia.

Some narratives concerned with the suppression of the Mafia tend to be exclusively concerned with Sicily, and dream up fanciful reasons for this campaign.[17] Actually, it was part of a three-pronged effort to subdue organized crime as well on the island of Sardinia, and in Calabria, the three provinces in the "toe" of the Italian mainland "boot." A *Times* survey in early 1928 reported that Italian authorities considered the Sardinian crime rate to be double that of Sicily, with a murder rate of 24 per 100,000 population, as against Sicily's 16. As for Calabria, it was officially considered to have a crime rate higher than either Sicily or Sardinia, and observers were wondering when Mussolini would stretch the anti-crime drive there.[18]

Finding Refuge in America

Some social and political realities of the time

during which this anti-Mafia onslaught took place have to be kept in mind, as well as some of the international implications. The swiftness and comprehensiveness of the drive headed by Prefect Mori caused grave disturbances among the *Mafiosi*, who responded not only in major gun battles with the police but also in flight to the Italian mainland and to the United States. Though the major Sicilian figures in the American branch of the Mafia had arrived well before 1926, as a result of Mussolini's drive the American gangs accumulated a considerable number of lesser hoodlums who found refuge in the United States from Italian police pursuit. The large number of Italians in the United States also made this country a convenient hiding place for this migrating criminal element.

The adoption in 1919 of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting alcoholic beverages had spawned a fantastic increase in opportunities to make a living by breaking the law.[19] Even though criminal gangs had been a part of urban America since the 1860s, the new opportunities presented by supplying the parched American appetite with illegal alcohol, and everything that went with it in the field of legally enjoined pleasures and diversions, gave organized crime a stimulus in the 1920s that could hardly have even been imagined earlier.

With Americans spending $100,000,000 a year abroad on alcohol by 1925,[20] it can be understood that those who decided they should spend such money on hard liquor at home knew what they were doing in developing the massive smuggling system that evolved in the 1923–1933 decade. The Mafia was just one part of the entire "bootlegging" scene, competing with other ethnic gangs of Irish, Jewish and assorted lesser organizations of different ancestry,[21] let alone the immense domestic group of native birth engaged in home manufacture and distribution of high voltage drink.[22]

In any case, the Mussolini effort to stamp out the Mafia contributed to the mobilization of Sicilian gangsters in the US. In a significant way these new arrivals also brought long-standing feuds and competition with them. Law enforcement authorities reported 527 gangster killings in the state of Illinois alone in 1928, part of this sharp rise traceable to the importation of ancient rivalries from Sicily.[23]

Though the criminals fleeing from Sicily did not make recourse to the ploy of claiming to be "political" persecutees, a claim so dear to killers and armed robbery and mayhem artists in the United States 50 years later, they did not shrink from involvement in political affairs if there was gain to be made from it. A number of Mafia "refugees" were known even to return to Italy early in 1927 to build a system to smuggle "anti-fascists" to France.[24]

No Death Penalty for Mafia Crimes

It has been seen that many of the convictions of Mafia in Sicilian courts were for homicide, but that no death sentences were handed down. During the first few years of Fascist rule, Italy had no capital punishment for any offense. This changed in November 1926 following the third assassination attempt on Mussolini in that same year. The regime proposed its reestablishment on November 5, and the Italian Senate approved it 15 days later.[25]

However, the death penalty was severely restricted to a very limited number of offenses: treason, espionage, armed rebellion, and attempts on the life of the head of state by an Italian native.[26] So no death penalty attached to Mafia criminals subsequently convicted of murder, and there were quite a few.

"Lucky" Luciano

A remarkable decrease in crime in Italy and Sicily was reported by early 1929,[27] even as Prefect Mori's offensive bore on. As a consequence of an extended proceeding, 154 members of a Palermo gang were sent to prison on February 28, 1929.[28] Another major trial at Termini Imerese concluded after nine months, with a jury mulling over 7,000 questions. Part of the problem here was a consequence of the voluminous documentation supplied by the prosecution, which involved the vast captured correspondence of the Mafia chief in this case. This material not only demonstrated a serious involvement of Sicilian governmental authorities, but also revealed significant ties with Mafia in the United States. It ended on May 1, 1929, with a verdict of guilty for 150 of the 161 defendants.[29]

In 1930 another major trial took place in Sicily at Sciacca, involving 241 alleged Mafia accused of several hundred crimes, including 43 homicides. The prosecution eventually produced a small mountain of documentary evidence, which filled 69 boxes. Beginning in July 1930,[30] the trial dragged on until June 22, 1931, when it concluded with the conviction of 124 Mafia (the number of the defendants had shrunk from 241 to 178), 15 of the convicted receiving life sentences, and the 109 others receiving a total of 1,200 years in prison. The jury was out four days, and considered a total of 3,000 questions.[31] This Sciacca trial was considered the most sensa-

tional of the entire series, with the defendants sitting in three iron-barred cages throughout the court proceedings. It is worth noting that in this case as well, the defendants were hardly poverty-stricken peasants, but were represented by a substantial contingent of what were reputed to be highly paid lawyers.[32]

More US Praise for Anti-Mafia Campaign

Readers in the United States were treated in December 1930 to an eyewitness report on an Italian Mafia trial written by a well-known American magazine publisher, S. S. McClure, who was present at the beginning of a new Palermo trial. In a report that appeared in the *New York Times*, he mentioned that Prefect Mori had received four gold medals for his work in prosecuting the Mafia since 1926, and that during one recent year there had been 1,750 murders in Palermo alone. The Mori campaign had thus far resulted in roughly 2,000 arrests, and about half as many convictions, with the result, McClure stated, that "Today, in Sicily and Naples, and in all the regions heretofore plagued by the racketeer, there is absolute freedom from any form of extortion."[33]

By the end of 1931 Mussolini's drive to wipe out the Mafia was entering its final stages. Another big Palermo trial started on November 29 of that year, with the public prosecutor seeking jail sentences for between 165 and 200 of a somewhat larger group of defendants.[34] The trial lasted into Christmas week, and of an eventual 245 persons brought before the court, 141 were convicted on December 29, 1931.[35]

Only one trial drew attention in 1932, but it was another on the scale previously conducted at Sciacca. This one began in the early spring, at Agrigento. It was held in an improvised courtroom in the former monastery of Santo Spirito, with the defen-

America's Changing View of Mussolini and Italian Fascism

America's image today of Benito Mussolini and his Italian Fascist regime is, to a considerable extent, a product of Second World War propaganda. The wartime image of the *Duce* (leader) as a clownish bully remains largely intact to this day.

But this was not always so. During the 1920s and early 1930s, Mussolini and Fascist Italy were generally well regarded in the United States.

John P. Diggins, professor of history at the University of California, Irvine, notes in his 1972 study, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (p. 59):

> Whatever Mussolini's reputation is today, from the time of the [Fascist] March on Rome [1922] to the beginning of the Ethiopian War [1935], he was an esteemed figure. Americans in particular saw in Mussolini certain enduring qualities which enabled him to qualify as a "great man" not only of his time but of the ages.

Mussolini's conception of power and authority, the *New York Times* wrote in November 1923, "has many points in common with that of the men who inspired our own constitution -— John Adams, Hamilton and Washington."

One of the most widely read magazines of the period, *The Saturday Evening Post* (with almost three million subscribers in 1930) published numerous articles praising Mussolini and his regime.

America's ambassador to Italy, Richard Washburn Child, was so taken with the *Duce* that he initiated and played a major role in producing Mussolini's *Autobiography*, which was published in 1928 by Charles Scribner's Sons. It appeared that same year in serial form in *The Saturday Evening Post*.

In his foreword to the work, the envoy praised Mussolini as "both wise and humane," as an administrator of "superstatesmanship," and as a political leader of "permanent greatness." In Fascist Italy, wrote Child, "unexpected joy is found in the leadership of a Mussolini ... It is absurd to say that Italy groans under discipline. Italy chortles with it! It is victory!"

Mussolini, the ambassador explained,

> ... has not only been able to secure and hold an almost universal following; he has built a new state upon a new concept of a state. He has not only been able to change the lives of human beings, but he has changed their minds, their hearts, their spirits. He has not merely ruled a house; he has built a new house.

President Franklin Roosevelt expressed admiration for the Italian leader, and sent him cordial letters. In June 1933, Roosevelt praised Mussolini in a letter to an American envoy: "... I am much interested and deeply impressed by what he has accomplished and by his evidenced honest purpose of restoring Italy and seeking to prevent general European trouble." In another letter a few weeks later, the President wrote: "I don't mind telling you in confidence that I am keeping in fairly close touch with the admirable Italian gentleman."

Mussolini's regime received particularly warm praise from America's business leaders. In his 1972 work, Prof. Diggins writes (pp. 146-47):

dants once more confined in a large barred cage. It concluded on May 2, 1932, with the sentencing of another 244 Mafia members to a total of 1,200 years in prison.[36] Six weeks later a special piece in *The New York Times* praised Italy as a country among the world's leaders in instituting penal reforms.[37]

Simultaneous with the campaign in Sicily, authorities were carrying out an anti-Mafia drive on the neighboring island of Sardinia as well as on the Italian mainland. On June 22, 1934, an electrifying raid took place on the mainland, largely in the towns of Cadeto, Gallino, Arno and Pellaro, all located on the "sole" of the Italian peninsular "boot." Some 400 *Mafiosi* were arrested in this swoop, the majority of whom, it turned out, had fled there from Sicily.[38] They had, as might be expected, returned to traditional "protection rackets," reported to be very heavy in Reggio Calabria as they had once been in Sicily. At the conclusion of their year-long trial, during which 1,000 witnesses appeared for the prosecution, an unspecified number of the defendants were given long prison terms.

By mid-1935, it may be assumed, the Mafia had been reduced to a thin shadow of its former self. By this time, priorities in Italy had profoundly shifted as Mussolini had begun Italy's quest for big-power status and a prominent position in the Mediterranean, as well as a belated role as an African colonial power. As a result of the growing hostility toward Mussolini and the Italian Fascist state in the English-speaking world, commendation of anything in Italy was no longer fashionable, and most of what was reported in the United States about domestic affairs in Italy concerned matters discreditable to the regime.[39]

The last mention in the *New York Times* of Italian prosecution of the Mafia prior to the outbreak of World War II was in November 1937. It reported on

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> With few exceptions, the dominant voices of business responded to Fascism with hearty enthusiasm. Favorable editorials could be read in publications such as *Barron's*, *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, *Commerce and Finance*, *Nation's Business* (the official organ of the US Chamber of Commerce), and the reputable *Wall Street Journal*. Aside from the press, the list of outspoken business admirers reads like a Wall Street "Who's Who."

Readers of the prestigious business magazine *Fortune* (May 1932) were told: "In the world depression, marked by governmental wandering and uncertainty, Mussolini remains direct ... He presents, too, the virtue of force and centralized government acting without conflict for the whole nation at once." Two months later, *Fortune* compared Fascist Italy's social policies with those of the Democratic Party in the United States: "The Corporate State is to Mussolini what the New Deal is to Roosevelt."

As a former soldier of the First World War, and as leader of a government that stressed patriotism, it is not surprising that Mussolini and his nationalist movement won admiration from many American veterans. Alvin Owsley, National Commander of the largest veteran's group, the American Legion, declared in 1923:

> If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect our county's institutions and ideals as the Fascisti dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy ... Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States.

America's Roman Catholic press reported sympathetically on Fascist Italy and its leader, encouraged by the signing in February 1929 of the Lateran treaty between Mussolini and the Vatican.

The American attitude toward Mussolini cooled considerably during Italy's military subjugation of Ethiopia, 1935-1936. (At the same time, though, some Americans pointed out the hypocrisy of condemning Italy for its imperial ambitions, while withholding criticism of Britain and France for their vastly greater colonial empires.)

A 1934 hit tune by Cole Porter included the line "You're the tops — you're Musso-li-ni." Reflecting the changing attitude, a year later this line had been deleted.

As Mussolini aligned his nation ever more closely with National Socialist Germany, the image in the American media of Italy and its leader deteriorated markedly. In May 1939 Mussolini and Hitler concluded the Italian-German "Pact of Steel" alliance, and in June 1940 the *Duce* declared war on a France that was already nearly defeated by Germany. Setting the tone for a widespread American view, President Franklin Roosevelt condemned Mussolini's "stab in the back."

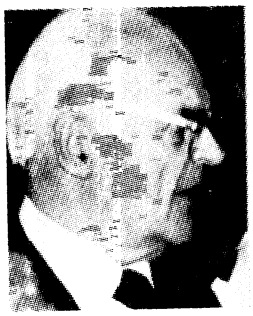
Following Mussolini's fateful declaration of war against the United States in December 1941, American newspapers, magazines, newsreels and motion pictures poured out a steady stream of scorn and contempt against Fascist Italy and its leader. This propaganda barrage powerfully shaped the American image that has largely remained to this day.

— M. W.

the arrest of 80 *Mafiosi* in Trapani and the contiguous areas of mountainous and relatively inaccessible western Sicily, who were subsequently arraigned in Messina.[40] Little background information was provided, other than a mention that the drive was a response to a "revival of Mafia activities." Nothing appeared subsequently in the *Times* on the outcome of this newest police move against the Sicilian Mafia.

Wartime Salvation for the Mafia

Since the central theme of this narrative concerns the Mafia in Sicily and Italy, with only incidental reference to various international relationships growing out of it, the history of the Mafia in America is not included here except where the interlocking consequences of their joint existence becomes obvious. Therefore the latter aspect has so far been treated only peripherally.



James J. Martin

This changed with the Second World War, which brought the two together to an even greater degree than during the 1920s and 1930s, at least in their connection to international politics. As a consequence of the war, the Mafia became something more than a domestic phenomenon in both Italy and the United States. In Italy, what looked like extinction was turned around by the fortunes of the war, which became the salvation of the Mafia as a force in Italian affairs.

How this came about requires a summary of Mafia experiences in the United States in the decade between 1933, when Prohibition ended, and the 1943 Anglo-American invasion of Sicily as a phase of World War II. The re-legalization in 1933 of the manufacture, distribution and consumption of alcoholic beverages ended the phase of Mafia criminal opulence that resulted from violation of the previous legal prohibition of such enterprises. Undoubtedly things had begun to change in the relationships between the Mafia and the conventional world, and one of the major aspects of this was the steady penetration of legitimate business by Mafia money, influence and management, resulting in a degree of prosaic respectability which has grown steadily ever since.

Labor Union Corruption

Organized crime continued to make the bulk of its money from control of gambling, prostitution and the ever-expanding extortion or "protection" rackets, the latter much aided by the corruption of labor unions. None of this was affected adversely by the end of Prohibition. In fact, one of the new adjustments made by the Mafia was its substantial penetration of the new legitimate businesses supplying Americans with beer, wine and whiskey. Much of the latter two were imported, and the infiltration of the waterfront of the large port cities — originally a minor enterprise of organized crime — became a very large one. Port facilities, some longshoremen's unions, and all other functional aspects ultimately came under Mafia control. The preposterous incidents related to the extension of the war to Italy in the early 1940s came as a result of this situation.

There were two phases in the process whereby the Mafia achieved respectability through "cooperation" with the military and naval intelligence branches of the US war machine after American involvement in the war following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

One was recruitment by the famous wartime spy agency, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) — ancestor of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) — and the alleged supply of information about Sicily deemed crucial to the invasion planners prior to this event in July 1943.

The other concerned alleged Mafia cooperation with US naval intelligence in alerting them as to the existence of German and Italian spies on the New York waterfront, and in preventing such enemy espionage from penetrating the dock areas and destroying ships or facilities, or perpetrating related sabotage.

'Operation Underworld' US Government-Mafia Liaison

It now appears that such fears about enemy spies and saboteurs were assiduously encouraged by American *Mafiosi*, especially after the big French luxury liner *Normandie* burned and capsized at its pier in New York harbor in February 1942. The subsequent nervousness of US counterintelligence, and the fear that a series of such calamities might be in the offing led to establishing links with the Mafia, and the creation of something called "Operation Underworld," a loose liaison between US Naval Counter-Intelligence and various *Mafiosi* employed on or frequenting the wharves, in the interest of preventing anything else of this kind.

Actually, the Mafia itself may have purposely created the problem by destroying the French liner, as one of the two most notorious Mafia hoodlums in American history, Charles "Lucky" Luciano, charges in his memoir.[41] In any case, Italian or German agents had nothing to do with the calamity. In an exaggerated way, the Mafia had simply expanded its "protection" racket: in return for guarantees that no more such marine disasters would

occur, they managed to provide themselves with an entree into the national defense area. The next step would be the groundwork for subsequent promises of extensive information and assistance in the American invasion of Sicily, which also came with a price. But to this day there is a thick shroud of official mystery over "Operation Underworld," and no government or service spokesmen have come forth to deny the substance of Luciano's allegations.

Wartime Mafia Enterprise

Another mystery is the effect of the Mafia's "cooperation" pose on political decisions within the Roosevelt regime, and whether this collaboration led to official disregard of domestic Mafia lawlessness, particularly its gambling activities and its tireless and expansive evasion of price controls, rationing and other wartime national and local economic restraints. The sums made by the Mafia through corrupting the ration stamp programs for gasoline, clothing and food, and the similar fortunes made providing scarce, forbidden or rationed products, have never been determined. This entire episode was largely papered over by New Deal economists and historians, who sought to sell the public the legend about how honestly and efficiently wartime price control and rationing had worked.[42]

Of a somewhat different nature is the story of US recruitment of the Mafia in preparing for the invasion of Sicily. This involved the actual placement of hoodlums in US intelligence services, and related soliciting of information from others who remained outside. In his revealing book, *OSS*, ex-CIA man R. Harris Smith discusses the selection of "Mafia types" for work with OSS operations in Italy, in what it called its "Operational Group Command."[43] Smith also pointed out that the OSS assembled rather formidable criminal muscle from two of the land's most notorious killer gangs: "Murder, Incorporated" of New York City, and the equally lethal "Purple Gang" of Detroit.[44]

Recruiting 'Lucky' Luciano

One aspect of this US government information-gathering from the Mafia in advance of the assault on Sicily is as shrouded in mystery as the aspect involving the mobilization of Mafia help in policing the New York docks. There are half a dozen differing accounts relating how US intelligence services went about seeking the favor of "Lucky" Luciano, with various henchmen emerging as the supposed key figure in the negotiations. In one account it is Frank Costello, in another Meyer Lansky. Still other criminal luminaries appear to have been the person responsible.

But in all the accounts two individuals always appear: Moses Polakoff, Luciano's principal legal advisor, and Murray R. Gurfein, a vigorous member of the team of prosecutors led by Thomas E. Dewey that brought about Luciano's conviction and jailing in 1936. Before the war Gurfein had been an assistant district attorney for the State of New York. After the war began, he was (according to some sources) affiliated with US Military Intelligence, and later in the war was reportedly an OSS Colonel.[45]

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YOUTH — By Benito Mussolini

Mussolini's *Autobiography* appeared in serial form in May 1928 in *The Saturday Evening Post*, one of America's most influential general-circulation magazines. Along with the first installment was an autographed photograph of Mussolini striding along an Italian seashore.

A Cultivated Legend

As time has passed, the secretive or embarrassing aspects of the Luciano case have gradually surfaced, along with a growing suspicion that there never was much of substance to stories of help provided by the Mafia to the US invasion forces. Far more important than any such help, it appears, was some labyrinthine proceeding related to Luciano's 1936 conviction.

In his own memoir, Luciano — in two separate and vehement scatological commentaries — denied having been of any assistance whatever to any branch of the armed services in the preparation or conduct of the Sicilian invasion.[46] He goes on to confess that he went along with the creation of this legend, knowing all the time that he was telling nothing but lies. (On one occasion, recalling a particularly spirited but fictitious retelling of the tale, in 1954, Luciano remarked in an aside that his the-

Charles "Lucky" Luciano, in Italy following his pardon and deportation from the United States in 1946. During the early 1930s he organized the national crime syndicate in the US, ruling as the Mafia's "Boss of All Bosses." In 1936 he was convicted and sentenced to 50 years imprisonment, but served only ten.

Underworld" operations to keep the New York waterfront free of Axis subversives.

In the meantime the Office of Strategic Services went about creating its own team of spies and assistance elements for work in Sicily,[49] though Allied Intelligence in North Africa was not entranced with the quality of information it had been receiving in the period immediately preceding the invasion. According to one authoritative account, during that crucial time all native informers were ignored except those with Sicilian Mafia associates.[50]

Fables of Mafia Assistance

The literature and stories concerning the fabled assistance furnished by the Mafia in the Anglo-American assault on Sicily is confusing and contradictory. The failure of anyone ever to put on the record any convincing facts, and the persisting vague and mock-mysterious abstruseness about it all has encouraged the suspicion that much of the episode was fabricated. This further strengthens the belief that not only was Luciano telling the truth when he disclaimed having the slightest thing to do with providing information helpful to the Sicilian operation, but that little if any help was received from any other Mafia figure either, whether living in the USA or Sicily.

It took the Allies only 39 days to overrun Sicily — July 10 to August 18, 1943. The part taken easiest was the western half of the island, reputedly that area where the vestiges of the Mafia survived underground. But in what was essentially a military operation undertaken with overwhelming force, one must assume that the help supplied by a ragtag band of criminals infiltrated in the civilian population would of necessity be nominal, if perceptible.

Some recent sources still assert that Luciano supplied invasion officers with contacts with Sicily's only unjailed Mafia chief of any substance, Don Calogero Vizzini, as well as with Genco Russo, overseer of the immense land holdings in western Sicily of Prince Raimondo Lanza di Trabia. (Di Trabia was the personal aide to Major General Giacomo Carboni, onetime chief of the Italian Military Intelligence Service, and one of the chief plotters behind the original deposition of Mussolini. Carboni was put in command of the mobile defense force for the city of Rome on July 14, 1943.)[51]

Luciano's repudiation of any involvement of this kind, as well as the failure of him and his literary collaborators, Gosch and Hammer, even to mention Vizzini's name in a book of almost 500 pages, must be viewed as corroborating support for Luciano's insistence on total non-participation.

At any rate, a plethora of fantastic stories connecting Luciano with one aspect or another of the Sicilian campaign is still with us. World War II British army officer Norman Lewis, in his book *The Honored Society: A Searching Look at the Mafia*, asserted that Allied tanks went ashore actually flying yellow flags bearing the black letter "L," which purportedly stood for Luciano.[52] Probably the most astounding of these fables alleges that Luciano himself was part of the invasion forces, despite unchallengeable evidence that the influential Mafia chief was ensconced in his cell at Great Meadows penitentiary throughout the operation.[53]

Allied 'New Order' in Sicily

In contrast to the opaque evanescence attending the alleged intelligence and strategic genius of the Mafia prior to the attack on Sicily, we have more solid information about the political new order established in the wake of the Allied military operations. Allied military and occupation leaders were soon emptying the prisons and labor camps of the Mussolini regime,[54] eventually turning loose upon Sicily and southern Italy a legion of convicted murderers, robbers and extortionists, as well as setting them up in business as the mayors of a long string of Sicilian communities — "Mafiosi to a man," as Lewis puts it. To justify loosing the Mafia from jail, the Allied policy makers invented the notion that they were "victims of fascist tyranny,"[55] thus converting them into instant political prisoners, though what they really accomplished was the rebuilding of the Mafia's "state within a state," as Lewis described their pre-1926 enclave.[56]

Vito Genovese

It should thus have come as no surprise to anyone, least of all the Anglo-American forces, that intricately integrated organized crime was flourishing in Sicily within a few weeks of "liberation."[57]

The "liberators" brought something else in their train besides the Mafia: a rocketing inflation and an accompanying black market which dwarfed that which prevailed under Mussolini. The predecessor of each had already been seen in North Africa, where they had achieved memorable dimensions. The monetary disorder resulting from Anglo-American policies there had even brought a scolding in *Business Week*: "The US and British have yet to learn what the Germans have taught; occupation is made easier if money rates are unchanged or altered in favor of the local people."[58]

'Liberation' Realities

Given that the American branch of the Mafia had squirreled away a vast fortune through their major hand in the stateside black market, it was not out of character that the revivified Sicilian and Italian Mafia, when given the chance, would promptly follow in their steps. A foundation was provided by the combination of ridiculous debasement of the money system and the mountain of desirable products brought to the Mediterranean by the occupation forces. The stealing of supplies from the Anglo-American forces or the bribing of personnel to supply them became a major Mafia industry.[59]

After a period of innocent wonderment, occupation police began to react. In general, though, it might have been easier to bail out the Mediterranean with a sieve than to eliminate the black market flourishing on all sides. Nevertheless a brave attempt was made. On September 9, 1943, authorities reported the arrest in Sicily of two Mafia chiefs, Domenico Tomaselli and Giuseppe Piraino, in a coup that allegedly smashed black market operations there.[60]

Mafia Revival Blamed on Fascism

In an effort to divert responsibility it was also alleged that the Fascists had mobilized the Mafia in its own aid,[61] though this sharply contradicted the program of release from Mussolini's prisons and penal camps of the very people who were supposed to be in Fascism's employ. This convenient line appealed to liberals, however, and was still being repeated decades later.

But blaming Mussolini did nothing to slow the sustained progress of the Mafia and the black market. A year later a succession of dispatches from Sicily reported that the Mafia were rampant in Sicily.[62] The gang system had reappeared, and Palermo was once more the scene of numerous holdups and kidnappings, while repeated press commentaries outlined the scope of the familiar outrages.[63] By the end of October 1944, most Sicilian communities were so insecure that virtually no one could be found to travel outside their perimeters at night, a situation that repeated, under far different circumstances, the realities of Europe's walled towns of the 12th century.

In early 1945 the Mafia was reported affluent and flourishing on the crest of a major Sicilian crime wave,[64] while a succession of sensational *New York Times* reports[65] told of the spread of gangsterism to Rome — another accompaniment to the advance of the "liberation" up the Italian mainland.

Vito Genovese and the Allies

During these expectable developments came the announcement in November 1944 that one of the most elusive and secretive of all of America's Mafia leaders, Vito Genovese, had been arrested by Army occupation police.[66] They had been working in collaboration with stateside authorities in connection with the unsolved murder in Brooklyn some years earlier of a minor Mafia hoodlum named Boccia. Genovese was "discovered" living in a luxurious apartment in Naples, and working as an interpreter for and advisor to the US Military Government, with high-level clearance and passes authorizing him to travel anywhere in Allied-controlled Italy.[67]

Local authorities had instituted the search for Genovese, who had quietly left the USA for Italy in 1937 in the wake of the conviction of Luciano, expecting to be next on the Dewey prosecution list.[68]

In Naples, where local authorities were cooperating with the US Military Government, Genovese was under investigation for his role in running a formidable black market operation since at least the "Allied" occupation of the area.[69] He had been operating right under the noses of the naive military governors with whom he worked in close collaboration almost daily, and who considered his aid and service indispensable.[70] It is probably as a reaction to the embarrassment that followed that an effort was made to try to conceal the realities of the moment by implying that Genovese had shady political ties with the overthrown Fascists, and that he

Historians View the Mafia

The succession of books about the history and development of the Mafia manages to tell us little. Each writer cannibalizes his predecessors and the same story reappears over and over again, embellished sometimes with fictional overtones. They are obsessed with how the Mafiosi treat one another, and devote much space to gory blow-by-blow accounts of how the various subdivisions of this collection of super-robber/super-murderer elements conduct mutual massacres. Few accounts of the Mafia tell us much about how they poison the communities in which they live and what they do to those who are not part of their low enterprise.

Another aspect that the chroniclers of the Mafia dwell very lightly upon is the intimate connection between them and the various levels of government. It becomes obvious very quickly even to persons of limited intelligence that the Mafia could survive but a short time without the open and conscious relationship with props in the political world. It also appears that every time a searching inquiry is made into the Mafia or Syndicate, it is soon revealed that tendrils and creepers lead toward state governors' mansions and legislatures, and also the national Congress. The intimacy with county and local government promptly is demonstrated to be a subject almost too wide in scope to describe in any reasonable length of time or convenient amount of printed paper.

A few hints are given out regarding the billions amassed by the Mafia during wars, the boodle collected in 1941–45 apparently being the capital base for the dramatic expansion of Mafia/Syndicate strength and presence in the subsequent two decades. But we have no decent study of this incredible event, just tiny references which are made almost in the nature of asides. Joe Valachi, in Peter Maas, *The Valachi Papers* (New York: Putnam, 1969), began to describe the small fortune he made evading the economic legislation and controls of the wartime Roosevelt regime, but was diverted to other matters. Other than that direct testimony we have nearly nothing except what can be inferred from the total situation. But a sum of money is involved which must leave most anyone almost breathless, even in an age of marked inflation. What are badly needed are economic histories of the Mafia and some companion studies of their interlocked ties with all manner of politicians, and a diminution of the recountings of their homicidal interrelationships. It is commonplace to note that Mafia are frequently found to be operating businesses which require political certification in the form of licenses and franchises, some of which may be virtually official monopolies.

Luciano boasted of being an important factor in the election of more than 80 politicians, from aldermen to senators, in the 1920s alone, as well as claiming the Mafia delivered the New York State delegation at the 1932 Democratic Party presidential convention to Franklin D. Roosevelt, expecting to receive in return the calling off of the investigation into organized crime then going on in New York headed by Judge Samuel Seabury. Apparently underlings promised more than they could deliver, and Luciano declared that from then on the Mafia made no political deliveries prior to a quid pro quo. (See Martin A. Gosch and Richard Hammer, *The Last Testament of Lucky Luciano* [New York: Dell paperback edition, 1976], Chapters 14–18.)

— J. J. M.

had done the same things under Fascist aegis that were being uncovered under the new "liberation" regime. One energetic Army counterintelligence bloodhound even tried to portray Genovese as a German spy.

Still unexplained is the agonizingly slow movement of the extradition proceedings, and the discreet burying of the whole matter for many months after his arrest. Six months after his apprehension Genovese was still in Italy, and he did not arrive in America until June 2, 1945.[71] During his arraignment on a charge of complicity in the 1934 murder of Boccia, Genovese pleaded innocent. (His attorney was Hyman Barshay, counsel years earlier for the sinister killer Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, a key figure in the "Murder, Incorporated" gang.)[72]

The dismissal of the charges against Genovese (on grounds of insufficient evidence, following the death while in jail of a key prosecution witness), is incidental to this account.[73] In the years that followed, an immense tale grew up around Genovese and what he had been doing in Italy between 1937 and 1944, much of it based on not very credible assertions by hostile fellow gangsters, and his estranged wife during her testimony in divorce proceedings in 1952.

These versions tried to portray Genovese as a celebrity in Fascist regime during the years between his return to Italy in 1937 and his arrest in 1944. While all manner of wondrous involvements were attributed to him, none of these accounts alleged that he had anything to do with the Sicilian Mafia vestiges in those years, or that he was the spark behind the rebirth of organized crime all through the region which fell to the Anglo-American armed forces beginning in midsummer of 1943.[74]

Under supervision of an Allied soldier, a policeman in Sicily posts "Proclamation No. 1" of the Allied Military Government. Another Allied notice posted at this same time ordered Sicilians to turn over their firearms to the occupation authorities.

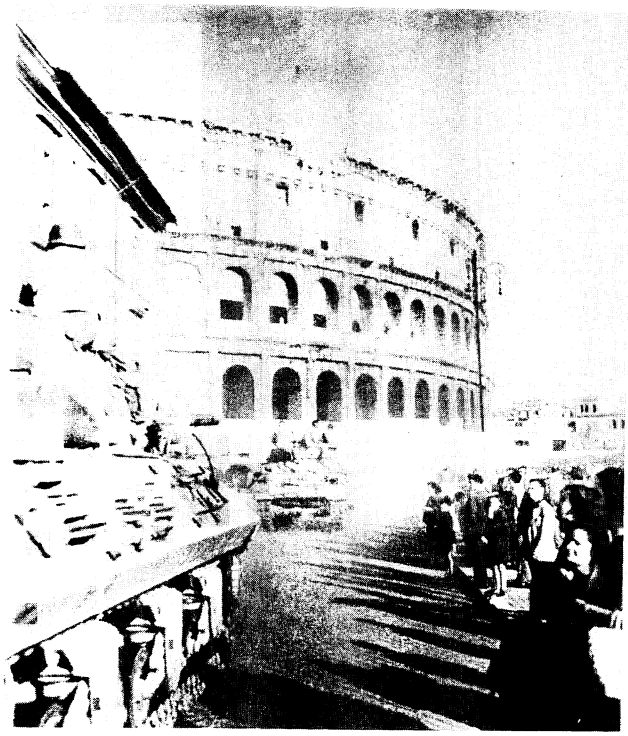
Clemency For Luciano

In May 1945, just as hostilities were ceasing in Europe, attorneys for "Lucky" Luciano entered his petition for clemency before Governor Dewey.[75] Another tangled tale is connected with the events related to the eventual pardon and deportation of Luciano. His lawyer, Polakoff, was the first to tell the story to the press of Luciano's alleged assistance to the Mediterranean warriors, and naming Gurfein as the key person who had suggested that Luciano's aid be recruited. Polakoff was quoted as saying: "Through information the convict [Luciano] furnished the military from his cell in Great Meadows prison in 1942, many Sicilian-born Italians furnished information regarding the conditions in Sicily that was helpful to the armed forces in the invasion."[76]

Governor Dewey was ambivalent about the case. On January 3, 1946, in a comment on Luciano's cooperation with the armed forces, he added, "the actual value of the information procured is not clear."[77] Dewey's attitude was somewhat more positive a few weeks later. He cited Luciano's usefulness to the US Army in the Sicilian invasion as the reason for the pardon[78] — a measure that many continued to think was far too hasty and precipitate.

For some time the responsibility for the action was traded back and forth between Dewey and the New York State Parole Board, and the subject was to become an issue of fitful significance for years thereafter. Luciano was deported a few days after his pardon. The story of his return to Italy on a small ship, and arrival in Naples on the last day of February 1946 has been retold many times.[79]

Luciano's reappearance in the Western Hemisphere the following year, culminating in a gathering in Cuba of major Mafia figures, led to another round of unhappy commentaries on Dewey's action in his behalf. Once again the press interviewed Gurfein and Haffenden about Luciano's wartime role in



As citizens of Rome look on, US Fifth Army tanks roar by the ancient Coliseum as they begin to occupy the Italian capital. Allied occupation of Italy was a mixed blessing.

furnishing counterintelligence and other aid.[80] Now his role was being designated as "alleged," and the more hyperthyroid sentiments that had been expressed in 1945 and 1946 were no longer heard. Observations about Luciano in February 1947 were drastically subdued and discounted compared to those a year earlier.[81]

Governor Thomas Dewey remained under clouds of suspicion for years, with persistent charges of having made enigmatic deals. His troubles over the Luciano pardon accelerated. When Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee began to assemble his machine for the much-publicized investigation of organized crime in America in 1951, he contributed to the tangle of allegations with the charge that Dewey's commutation of Luciano's sentence was not justified.[82]

Postwar 'Banditry' in Sicily

While military and political figures, and the press, were trying to decide whether or not Luciano should be enshrined by history as a patriot, the Italian mainland and Sicily were putting up with the mixed blessings of the new order brought to their midst by the Occupation. Another big crime wave swept both in January and February 1946,[83] while in Sicily the term "banditry" became the common euphemism for renewed Mafia labors.[84] Ultimately the mixture of liberal leftists (notably in the Christian Democratic Party) and social democrats that US occupation policy decreed should be Italy's new leadership found they were obliged to use the same strategy Mussolini had employed in putting down widespread organized crime. Ultimately, though, they used far more force in doing so than *"Il Duce"* ever employed in supporting the campaigns of Prefect Mori.

Though Mori had engaged in open warfare with the Mafia and fought encounters that involved enough men to rate as battles if they had taken place between rival States, the situation facing post-1945 Italy turned out to be considerably worse. It mainly revolved around the celebrated Salvatore Giuliani and his followers. Between 1946 and 1950, he became the best known Sicilian "bandit" of the entire modern era, and he and his followers earned as much space in the newspapers of the world as many of the global politicians in those first few years of the burgeoning Cold War.

To suppress Giuliani and his "bandits," the postwar Italian government dedicated considerable resources. By the spring of 1949, 8,000 heavily armed paramilitary *carabinieri* police were fighting Giuliani's small band in virtual guerilla warfare that dragged on for months, and on a scale that made Mussolini's efforts of 1926–1934 look like mere outings by comparison.[85]

In the meantime the Mafia went about its quiet and diligent mending of fences, reestablishing control and influence and amassing substance on a scale again which outdid anything enjoyed before 1926 by many magnitudes, a total program that dovetailed with the conventional world of business and politics to the point where only experts could distinguish the component parts of the total situation.[86]

In both Europe and the United States, the approach to social order that has evolved in liberal circles looks upon a certain level of mayhem as an endurable price to pay for a "free society." This novel view is supposed to explain and rationalize whatever may be prevailing in a culture that makes it incapable of controlling murder, aggravated assault and rape. After demonstrating ineptitude in law enforcement long enough, those in power offer plausible excuses to convince the unhappy that what prevails should be considered the "normal" or "moderate" response. In a cultural environment where such a climate of opinion prevails, it can be taken almost for granted that law enforcement such as that exemplified by Mussolini in reducing the Sicilian Mafia will always be deplored and reasons found to denounce it as infamous.

Notes

1. The best description of this sordid affair is by two collaborators with the Reds in northern Italy, Pier Luigi Bellini delle Stelle and Urbano Lazzaro, in their book *Dongo: The Last Act*, first published in Italy in 1962, and in London two years later. The role played by Italy's loyal Stalinists in the Mussolini murder has been a part of the public record since the Rome newspaper *l'Unita* in 1945, and in greater detail in 1947, revealed that the Italian Communist Party leader Palmiro Togliatti, brought back to Italy by Americans late in 1944, issued orders through party headquarters to shoot Mussolini and other Fascist leaders immediately upon capture. *New York Times, March 9, 1947*, p. 18. Two weeks later, Walter Audisio, using the wartime pseudonym "Colonel Valerio," was identified as Mussolini's "executioner." He tried to implicate US Military Governor Charles Poletti, a one-time lieutenant governor of the state of New York, as having approved in advance the murder of Mussolini and the Fascist party chief, Achille Starace. Poletti heatedly denied Audisio's allegation. *New York Times*, March 23, 1947, p. 5, March 31, 1947, p. 5, April 1, 1947, p. 18. Audisio was subsequently rewarded with a seat in the postwar Italian chamber of deputies, remaining until his death on October 11, 1973 at the age of 64. See obituarial note in *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1973, p. 38, and Associated Press report on his part in Mussolini's murder in Colorado Springs *Gazette Telegraph*, Oct. 12, 1973, p. 3-C. Especially useful for other aspects of the above matters is Luigi Villari, *The Liberation of Italy, 1943–1947* (Appleton, Wisc.: C. C. Nelson, 1959.)

   Partisan fighter Urbano Lazzaro, who helped capture Mussolini and was supposedly involved in his "execution," provides a different account in an April 1995 article in the Italian magazine *Panorama*. Lazzaro writes that the *Duce* was accidentally killed several hours before his staged "execution." See "Mussolini's execution staged, partisan says," (Reuter's dispatch) in *Orange County Register* (Calif.), April 29, 1995.
2. Rev. ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p. 989.
3. *New York Times*, Sept. 26, 1926, p. 24.
4. *New York Times*, May 1, 1926, p. 1.
5. *New York Times*, May 2, 1926, see. IX, p. 11.
6. *New York Times*, May 1, 1926, p. 1.
7. *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1927, sec. III, p. 1.
8. *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 3. 10.
9. *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1928, see. IX, p. 2.
10. *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1928, p. 1.
11. *New York Times*, March 7, 1928, p. 6.
12. *New York Times*, March 8, 1928, p. 6.
13. One finds an occasional account which seeks to describe the Lipari Islands penal camps as versions of Devil's Island, but they were resorts compared to those already long established in the Soviet Union. The Italian camps were far from escape-proof, nor were all those sentenced to serve time there kept for their full time. Escapes and reduction of sentences were hardly unknown as the program was expanded.
14. *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1928, p. 5.
15. "Mori's War on the Mafia," *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1928, p. 28.
16. A. Cortesi, "The Mafia Dead, A New Sicily Born," *New York Times*, March 4, 1928, sec. V, pp. 10–11. See also the major stories on Mori in *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1928, sec. IX, p. 2 and March 11, 1928, sec. III, p. 5. Many times decorated for his campaign against the Mafia, Mori died in 1942.
17. Gay Talese, in his extremely popular best-seller, *Honor Thy Father* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Books, 1971), alleges that Mussolini began the drive to wipe out the Mafia because on a visit there his hat had been stolen, and that he was outraged later by the patronizing attitude of a local official who was also a member of the Mafia. Talese perhaps more than any other recent writer on the Mafia has been most offended by the Mussolini anti-Mafia program, and has sought to pose them as heroes of a sort, rationalizing their resistance as some kind of political guerrilla warfare and ultimately seeking to elevate them to a kind of patriot status on the basis of their behavior in World War II.

   The effort to attribute patriotic and politically ideologic qualities to the Mafia in World War II does not wash. Talese admits (p. 488) that no Mafia can survive without government collusion and support. Mussolini put it out of business in a short time, and even in a Cuba which rivaled Sicily in poverty, the Mafia was swiftly run out of its entrenched position in a matter of days by the Castro revolution. The Mafia's willingness to cooperate with the USA to do in the Communist Castro was barely distinguishable from its calculated readiness earlier to work with the same USA to do in the Fascist Mussolini. Ideology was a light year away from the central core of the issue, which was the hope of overturning a non-cooperating political establishment and the expectation of having it replaced by one which would tolerate at least some attenuated level of mutual existence with organized crime.
18. "Mussolini Aims Drive on Sardinian Bandits," *New York Times*, Feb. 19. 1928, p. 5. This aspect of the program is the worst-reported of all, and the record is badly documented. It may be assumed to have been as successful as the others, however. The veteran writer on Italian affairs, Melton S. Davis, in his *Who Defends Rome? The Forty-five Days, July 25 to September 8, 1943* (New York: Dial Press, 1972), mentioned specifically that at the time of the 1943 invasion of Sicily, "there was no Mafia in Sardinia" (p. 258).

   With respect to the adjoining island of Corsica, a French department north of Sardinia, it was fully as notorious as Sicily and Sardinia as a sanctuary of organized crime, and in the eyes of criminals themselves, perhaps even more formidable. Charles "Lucky" Luciano, referring to the consequences of the opening up of Cuba to Mafia-Syndicate gambling via the ministrations of Meyer Lansky, to the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1933, and the subsequent spread to Nassau and other Caribbean locations, felt that Mafia operations would soon expand to European sites as well. However he shrank from the thought of a "war" with the Corsicans, whom he characterized as "real cannibals" compared to anything the American-based organized crime rings had come up with when it came to the application of violence. That anyone could impress Luciano concerning the revolting conditions that attended their murderous enterprise is indeed an impressive tribute to the Corsican underworld, if distinctions of this sort can be deemed worthy of notice. See Martin A. Gosch and Richard Hammer, *The Last Testament of Lucky Luciano* (New York: Dell paperback edition, 1976), pp. 172–173. On collaboration between the Corsican criminal element and the American intelligence organization, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), see note 49.
19. In the 1920s it took on an average of 60 columns of tiny print just to list the articles dealing with Prohibition and its violation and enforcement in the annual issues of the *New York Times* Index. It is to be understood that the local press of the nation covered a prodigious number of stories on the same

subject which never found their way into the *Times*. It is probable that a full history of Prohibition would be so bulky it might take a fork lift to get it off the ground.

20. *New York Times*, May 31, 1925.
21. Organized crime related to Prohibition was a major factor in the land prior to public awareness of the big gangs involved in profiting from its evasion, an awareness probably taking place at about the time the gang leader Dion O'Banion was murdered in Chicago on November 10, 1924. The ferocious stand-off between and ultimate cooperation among the Mafia and the major Jewish racketeers, the gang wars of the 1920s and 1930s and the emergence of what has been known for years as the "Kosher Nostra" are well described by Hank Messick in his absorbing book *Lansky* (rev. ed., Berkley Medallion Books, 1973); they are examined in their recent activities by the columnist Jack Anderson in his report "'Kosher Nostra' in the Promised Land," published in most newspapers carrying his column on December 31, 1971, largely concerned with the efforts of "a disturbing number of Jewish racketeers" to turn Israel into "a criminal sanctuary."
22. Not to be identified with the independent Midwestern and Southern bootleggers of the first decade of Prohibition are the bank robbers and kidnappers of the early 1930s, from the same regions, in the main, memorialized in the book by Lew Louderback, *The Bad Ones* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Books, 1968). One can grasp the obviously superior effectiveness of crime working with sympathetic police and politicians, as in the case of the Mafia/Syndicate, as compared with the defiant loners against the world, in the persons of John Dillinger, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, Clyde Barrow, "Machine Gun" Kelly, "Ma" Barker, Alvin Karpis and "Baby Face" Nelson.
23. *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1928, p. 10.
24. On the arrest of five returned bootleggers in Naples engaged in this enterprise see *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1927, p. 5. Most of the plots against Mussolini were hatched by Italian refugees in France, which was also the destination of some of the Mafia escaping from the Lipari Islands penal camps. On the recapture of Lipari Islands escapees and their retrial see *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1930, p. 4.

    A related aspect of Mafia undertakings which has almost disappeared from the record in recent accounts is alien-smuggling. When the big Mafia *capo* Salvatore Maranzano was murdered in New York on September 10, 1931 there were two separate investigations which followed: one by local authorities seeking his killers, estimated to be from four to six men, depending upon which account one reads, and the other by the federal government exploring his alien-smuggling business. An illegal alien himself, Maranzano had built a rather wide-ranging operation and the New York Times in the fall of 1931 boiled with stories on the big alien-smuggling apparatus uncovered, tendrils of which were traced to Canada and as far away as Germany. It was revealed that Maranzano had corresponded with U.S. immigration officials earlier on the subject, and for awhile at least the latter were more interested in this matter than they were in finding who had killed him. One witness interviewed by the federal investigators declared that there had been twelve witnesses to his murder. New York Times, September 26, 1931, p. 4.
25. *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1926, p. 1; Nov. 21, 1926, p. 16.
26. Mussolini was shot and slightly wounded on April 6, 1926, as he emerged from a speech-making appearance in a public building in Rome. *New York Times*, April 7, 1926, p. 1.
27. *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1929, p. 7.
28. *New York Times*, March 1, 1929, p. 10. Four members of the gang were reported to have died while awaiting the outcome of the trial.
29. *New York Times*, May 2, 1929, p. 2. On the significance of the revelations that the convicted had cooperated with the Mafia in America, see *New York Times*, May 5, 1929, sec. III, p. 3.
30. *New York Times*, July 5, 1930, p. 7; July 8, 1930, p. 4.
31. *New York Times*, June 23, 1931, p. 1; "Mafia is Further Weakened by Many New Convictions," *New York Times*, June 28, 1931, see. VIII, p. 15. It was stated in the latter account that there had been 450 convictions since mid-1928.
32. One would never know from reading Talese's *Honor Thy Father* that the Mafia were subject to formal trial before traditional courts under Italian law and were represented by substantial entourages of defense lawyers. He dismisses the crackdown on the Mafia as a mere "campaign of terror" which consisted mainly of "torturing" suspects and of killing a great many of them "without a fair trial." In view of the heavy coverage of the entire campaign in the *New York Times*, Talese's employer when he wrote the above book, it appears that he effectively avoided consulting the record in the press contemporary with the events.

    Mario Puzo, in his novel *The Godfather* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Books, 1969), another immensely popular volume built around the Mafia, preceded Talese in suggesting that the Mussolini drive starting in 1926 simply authorized the arbitrary arrest of anyone suspected of being a mafioso, while alleging that many "innocent families" were "brought ruin" as a result. Prefect Mori is honestly represented as "a high police official," but one would also never know from this book that at least half of the persons brought to trial between 1926 and 1934 were found innocent: they hardly were all thrown into jail or deported to penal work colonies without exception (pp. 277–278).
33. *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1930, sec. III, p. 2. In *Honor Thy Father*, Talese impugns Mori, and conveys the impression he was an ex-policeman, and, by inference, nothing but a coarse goon hired by "fascist thugs," rather than a career policeman who had served under several regimes prior to that of Mussolini, who, after all, was the recognized chief of state. Talese's cavalier brush-off of Mori stands in strange comparison to the numerous contemporary tributes to the latter's competence and devotion to duty while in serious danger to his own life from Mafia killers. These accolades, such as that of McClure, made their way into the press of the world outside of Italy on a substantial scale, the most flattering perhaps appearing in the pages of the *New York Times*. Talese also delicately avoids mentioning the substantial number of Italian police who were killed or injured by Mafia gunmen during this virtual civil war in Sicily.

    An earlier writer, Frederic Sondern, was somewhat more fair in his estimate. He identified Mori correctly and described him as "able" and "energetic," admitting he had a difficult job, yet Sondern also called the trials in Sicily "drumhead" affairs. But he concludes that Mafia activities "ceased almost entirely," and that the "extortion rackets, robberies, smuggling, feuds and murders dipped sharply." In addition to the Lipari Islands, Sondern stated that some of the convicted Mafia were sent to Ustica, a small volcanic island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, 40 miles north-northwest of Palermo, and administered by Palermo province. Sondern, "How the Mafia Came to America," in Nicholas Gage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.* (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1972), pp. 78–79.

34. *New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1931, p. 4.
35. Delayed commentary on the convictions appeared in the *New York Times*, May 3, 1932, p. 10.
36. *New York Times*, above.
37. *New York Times*, June 26, 1932, sec. II, p. 4. In the year ending in March 1932, New York City police reported 489 murders; there were seven murderers executed in the same time. *New York Times*. April 11, 1932, p. 7.
38. *New York Times*, June 23, 1934, p. 30; June 25, 1934, p. 14.
39. Mussolini's success in challenging the British in the Mediterranean and his overpowering of Ethiopia in 1935–1936, as well as flouting the League of Nations "sanction," infuriated a large sector of British opinion, and the reaction to him in most quarters was in the class with the incredulous stupefaction of the admiral of the fleet upon having soup poured down his back by a clumsy waiter. The systematic defamation of Italians was an outgrowth of the continuous detraction of Mussolini as an oaf and clown which grew in volume and intensity throughout the war. The universal character assassination of Italians probably reached a peak with the publication of Field Marshal Montgomery's memoirs in London in 1958, in which his imputation of cowardice on the part of Italian troops in North Africa during World War II so enraged nationalists that the leader of an Italian veterans' organization, Vincenzo Caputo, challenged him to a duel. Montgomery declined to take him up on it, and after a number of diplomatic and other protests from the Italian government and much mumbling from London, Montgomery "reappraised" his estimate of the Italian soldier and heaped belated approval upon him. *New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1958, p. 8; Nov. 12, 1958, p. 3. A recent book published in England seeks to reduce some of the misconceptions about Mussolini among the British, Roy MacGregor-Hastie's *The Day of the Lion* (London: MacDonald, 1963.)
40. *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1937, p. 5.
41. Gosch and Hammer, *The Last Testament of Lucky Luciano*, pp. 260–262. Luciano went into detail as to his involvement in it from the start, along with Frank Costello and the Anastasia brothers, Albert, a major gunman in "Murder, Incorporated," and Anthony ("Tough Tony"), the latter a Mafia power controlling the International Longshoremen's Association. From Luciano's description the actual sabotage was engineered by the latter, with his brother Albert directing the overall strategy to maximize Navy fears of coming widespread destruction all along the New York waterfront. Luciano's explanation of what happened to the *Normandie* makes more sense than the opaque and evasive official excuses and explanations.
42. On the substantial fortune Joe Valachi amassed just through manipulation of gasoline ration stamps see his brief admissions in Peter Maas, *The Valachi Papers* (New York: Putnam, 1969). Others whom Valachi implicated as becoming wealthy on criminal misuse of ration stamps alone, during World War II, included Carlo and Paul Gambino, who were estimated to have made well over a million dollars via this route, and the New Jersey gangster Sam Accardi. It was customary to obtain the stamps by theft from Office of Price Administration vaults or by bribing OPA personnel. See also chapter 9 in the symposium *Mafia, U.S.A.*, "Carlo Gambino — Mafia Patriarch," by the editor, Nicholas Gage. In 1944 the national director of the Office of Price Administration, Chester Bowles, admitted that five percent of all gasoline sales was a black market operation, a figure which can be assumed to have been deliberately reduced to allay home front criticism and maximize cooperation with the "war effort." Since Valachi was a very minor participant in this aspect of organized crime's fortune-building via mass violation of the various economic restraints under the administration and surveillance of the OPA (among whose employees at one time were the famed economist Milton Friedman and former president Richard M. Nixon), it must be assumed that vastly larger sums were amassed by others. Just how much money was skimmed off during the war by the Mafia will never be known, since the beneficiaries of such operations rarely are known to betray themselves and provide the basic facts, but some estimates have been as high as $30 billion. As Ralph Salerno and John Tompkins put it, "World War II came as a godsend to the Mafia." Salerno and Tompkins, "After Luciano," in Cage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.*, p. 100. For an expectable apologia alleging the efficient working of wartime price control, rationing and related apportionment of scarce goods see Marshall B. Clinard, *The Black Market* (New York: Rinehart, 1952).
43. Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), p. 105.
44. Smith apparently knew nothing about organized crime, and identified the "Purple Gang" as from Philadelphia, though this sinister group was from Detroit. According to Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano* (pp. 99, 110), the leader of this lot was one Abe Bernstein, and they originally specialized in smuggling quality whiskey across from Canada during Prohibition, purchased mainly from distilleries there headed by Samuel Bronfman and Louis Rosenstiel, later the presidents of Seagram Corporation and Schenley Corporation, respectively. The illegal operations of Bronfman and Rosenstiel and their gang connections are briefly described by Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, pp. 48, 65, 69, 174.
45. Probably the first identification of Gurfein as a major in US Military Intelligence was made by Polakoff, a former US Attorney, in *The New York Times*, May 23, 1945, p. 7. For contradictory accounts of the entire complicated business involving the armed forces intelligence organizations, Luciano and various other underworld kingpins see H. Messick, *Lansky*, pp. 115–122, and Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, 262–272.

    Another aspect of the Gurfein-Luciano affair is briefly examined in Anthony Cave Brown, ed., *The Secret War Report of the OSS* (New York: Berkley Medallion Books, 1976), pp. 191–192, and Smith, *OSS*, p. 84. On Gurfein and the "Pentagon Papers" incident described below, see the footnote to the same page of Smith, *OSS*, above.

    Gurfein, elevated to a federal judgeship in June 1971, became famous for his first decision, in favor of *The New York Times* when the federal government sought to prevent that newspaper from printing the famed "Pentagon Papers," a decision which was later upheld by the US Supreme Court.
46. Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, pp. 267, 369–370. One can understand in retrospect why those connected with Governor Dewey could contribute to the legend of "Lucky" Luciano as a decisive factor in the 1943 Sicily invasion, that is, to provide an excuse for his commuted sentence, but why any officer in the armed forces, any political figure either on the home front or in the Italian occupation, or any other person in mass communication, journalism or independent writing, could contribute to the promotion of this incredible fabrication, remains an imponderable.
47. *New York Times*, April 24, 1937, p. 4. Luciano was so little

known in New York that the *Times* spelled his name "Luciana" after police started looking for him in connection with the murder of "Dutch Schultz" (born Arthur Flegenheimer) in Newark, N.J., October 23, 1935. The *Times* got it right the following year, however, when he became front page news as the Dewey prosecution escalated. It might be pointed out that the police were not too far off in the first place, since Luciano's original name was Salvatore Lucania.

48. For an extended exposition of the Luciano explanation of his situation as summarized above see Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, Chapters 19 and 20.

49. Smith, *OSS*, pp. 83–86. Among other criminal elements recruited by the OSS in the Mediterranean theater were the ferocious underworld of Corsica, principally engaged in the narcotics trade by tradition. But the skills of many Corsican thugs were polished by OSS agents, mainly to aid in the bringing of weapons and ammunition to the preponderantly Stalinist French underground. The Corsican drug suppliers were still in business 30 years later, the main target of their supply now being the heroin addicts in the USA. On this repelling sidelight of World War II see the book by the former OSS agent Edward Hymoff, *The OSS in World War II* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1974.)

50. Davis, *Who Defends Rome?*, p. 257.

51. Davis, *Who Defends Rome?*, pp. 257–258. Davis deprecates the entire Sicily operation, insisting that all it did was to return the Mafia to control there even stronger than they had been before their suppression. He thought that a landing on the Italian peninsula north of Rome, or General Dwight D. Eisenhower's plan, an invasion of Corsica and Sardinia, instead of Sicily, would have been somewhat superior tactics. Davis did not identify Russo as a member of the Mafia, but apparently meant that this was to be assumed since he declares that Russo replaced Vizzini as the chief of the Sicilian Mafia scene upon the latter's death, in Palermo, on May 13, 1954 (Vizzini's demise noted in *New York Times*, May 14, 1954, p. 12). Davis in an earlier book alleged that Vizzini helped to finance Mussolini's "March on Rome" in 1922 which preceded the taking over of Italy by the *Fascisti*. His views on the Mafia as an intelligence assistance to the invasion by the "Allies" in this book do not tally with his reconsiderations in the later one, however. See Melton S. Davis, *All Rome Trembled: The Strange Affair of Wilma Montesi* (New York: Putnam, 1957), pp. 23–24.

52. New York: Putnam, 1964. Lewis' book is one of the most quoted works dealing with the alleged influence of Mafia aid in the Sicilian invasion. A portion of this book was published as "The Mafia in Sicily," chapter 3 in Gage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.*

53. Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, chapter 23.

54. The same thing was done in Germany in 1945, under the impression that all inmates were (1) political prisoners, (2) Jews innocent of ever having done anything, or (3) prisoners of war, not realizing, or not being interested in knowing, that sections of these camps housed some of the most dangerous desperadoes in Europe. There was the same simple-minded shock over the sensational rise of murder and other violent crime in the countryside within a 20-mile radius of these camps shortly after.

55. See especially in this instance the books by Michele Pantaleoni, *The Mafia and Politics*, first published in Italy in 1962, and in an English translation in New York by Coward-McCann in 1966, and *From Caesar to the Mafia* by Luigi Barzini (New York: Library Press, 1971). These writers, though anything but friendly to Mussolini, are understandably perturbed by the breathtaking ignorance and innocence of the "liberators." Others have made comical efforts to portray the Mafia as a righteous clan of freedom-lovers, veritable Angel Michaels destroying the many-headed serpent of Fascism. Their release from Mussolini's jails and penal camps is hailed in tones recalling the victories of Garibaldi, Mazzini and Cavour, and righteous lower lips tremble as the British and American authorities covered themselves with clown mantles in describing this lot of systematic murderers as terrorized martyrs. One may imagine the gales of raucous laughter sweeping through all levels of the "Brotherhood" upon the posting of this preposterous dictum.

    Talese in *Honor Thy Father* (p. 60) innocently declares that the Mafia who became mayors of Sicilian communities were former "intelligence agents" of the Americans and "underground organizers" against the Fascist and Nazi forces, and were simply "rewarded with lawful authority." He also ascribes profound political beliefs to these Mafiosi mayors, who took these jobs not because it was essential to their reconstruction of the pre-1926 status quo but out of pure and zealous "anti-fascism" and "hatred of Mussolini." In these respects they should be bracketed with the Communists, therefore, since these were also their reasons for belonging in the armed opposition. Talese relates that Joe Bonanno and his Mafia friends gloated upon learning of Mussolini's murder by Communists in Milan. In many ways it was as grisly a horror as numerous sensational Mafia murders. In the killers of the Stalinist Italian Communist Party they probably recognized birds of a feather, having resembled a Mafia "hit" team in the way they took on this assignment.

    Puzo in *The Godfather* (p. 328) repeated the story of the release of the Mafia from prison on the grounds that being imprisoned they must be "democrats." He calls this the Mafia's "good fortune" and the basic step which preceded their reconstruction and return to even more formidable power than that demonstrated down to 1926.

56. It might be argued that the Occupation authorities had few choices when it came to replacing the Fascists in domestic political posts and power. In Sicily the Mafia were by far the overwhelming candidates, once they had been released from jail. In other parts of Italy, later, the Communists were the logical inheritors. Though there had been a towering volume of talk and print about a "democratic socialist" element which presumably bulked high as an anti-Mussolini adversary, it did not show very strongly in the 1943–45 period of political chaos in Italy. Though America was the home of several very voluble leftist refugees who strove to demonstrate that there was a vast "difference between their plans for Italy and those of the Reds," there is little evidence that the Anglo-American occupation decision-makers wanted much to do with them. Such castigators of Mussolini and postwar planners as Salvemini, Sforza, and Borghese were not brought back to Italy in triumph and political power, nor were the spiritual associates of Benedetto Croce, another great liberal hero.

57. One of the most mischievous contributors to Sicily's political woes in the early years after its conquest was a Scottish pedagogue, George Robert Gayre. As an Occupation bureaucrat there he was one of the first to condemn Mussolini's campaign against the Mafia, though he also was one of the first to admit that within weeks they had returned to influence in Sicily equal in scope to the time prior to 1926. Liberal writers for a quarter of a century echoed his indignation at

Mussolini's anti-Mafia procedures, as incorporated in his book *Italy in Transition* (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), a volume made up of quotations from his private diary. As a lieutenant-colonel in the British forces he had authored another contentious work, *Teuton and Slav on the Polish Frontier* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1944), a study which pretended to be the long-awaited solution to the ancient and tangled ethnic claims in that region. On his return from Italy to Britain he devoted himself to writing on British heraldry and anthropology, and ultimately adopted the name "Robert Gayre of Gayre and Nigg."

58. *Business Week*, March 13, 1943, p. 48. The situation which prevailed after the Germans moved in, following the eclipse of Mussolini in the summer of 1943, is instructive. The late Bruno Leoni, a postwar free market economist of international repute, told this writer in California in the summer of 1957 that in the summer of 1943 he became an intelligence operative for the "Allies," but that he periodically sneaked into German-occupied Bari, on Italy's East coast, for the purpose of obtaining an economical dinner. German price controls were rigidly enforced there, while in the areas in "Allied" hands where he had to function, a sky-high inflation made such an achievement quite impossible. Only purist zealots who have never been hungry and who do not know that their precious "laws" are almost entirely suspended in wartime fail to understand the substance of the above action.
59. The equivalent in areas of France and Belgium occupied by US forces a year later was the comprehensive theft of Army supplies by American deserters for the supply of the black market in these regions. Steven Linakis incorporated material concerning such affairs in his novel *In the Spring the War Ended* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965).
60. *New York Times*, Sept. 10, 1943, p. 4.
61. Editorial, *New York Times*, Sept. 11, 1943, p. 12.
62. *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1944, sec. VI, p. 50.
63. *New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1944, p. 8.
64. *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1945, p. 4.
65. For example, *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1945, p. 8.
66. *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1944, p. 5.
67. Frank J. Prial, "Vito Genovese — Power to Spare," in Cage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.*, pp. 147–148.
68. This was Genovese's second trip to Italy in the 1930s. The first had occurred in 1933, a honeymoon vacation to Naples with his wife, Anna. Valachi is the source for an allegation that Genovese on this first voyage took three quarters of a million dollars with him to bribe functionaries of the Mussolini regime. Though there are several who insist that Dewey was about to concentrate on the prosecution of Genovese after Luciano's jailing, there is no mention of Genovese in the *New York Times* for either 1936 or 1937, at which time press coverage of the Dewey crime hunt was voluminous.
69. Early in 1944 Army Criminal Investigation (CID) operatives began picking up black marketeers in Italy who named Genovese as the mastermind of their operations. Genovese came under the personal scrutiny of Sergeant Orange C. Dickey of the Army CID, who gradually put together the material which revealed the true scope of his multimillion dollar ring based on the theft of products from the base at which he worked as an advisor and interpreter. It is quite likely that the Army would have dropped the charges against Genovese had not Sgt. Dickey learned that the Boccia case had been reopened as a result of new testimony, and that the Brooklyn authorities were again looking for Genovese. See Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, pp. 273–274, and F. Prial, "Vito Genovese," in N. Gage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.*, pp. 147–148.
70. See the embarrassing testimonials to Genovese's sterling qualities by his superiors, Captain Charles L. Dunn, Major E. N. Holmgren, and Major Stephen Young, reproduced in Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, p. 273.
71. *New York Times*, June 3, 1945, p. 26; For more about the Boccia slaying, see Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, pp. 177–178, 274; James Mills, "The Hit," in Gage, ed., *Mafia, U.S.A.*, pp. 25–55, and Prial, "Vito Genovese," same work, pp. 147–148.
72. Genovese's trial was delayed in about the same way as his extradition. *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1945, p. 19. This story retold his exploits as an interpreter for American Military Government and "boss of a gang of Italian black market operators."
73. See *New York Times*, May 7, 1946, p. 11; June 8, 1946, p. 38; June 11, 1946, p. 46; July 16, 1946, p. 15; Sept. 17, 1946, p. 2. See also the works cited in note 71.
74. One of the most wearily-repeated yarns among Mafia chroniclers is the allegation concerning Genovese following his return to Italy in 1937 to evade prosecution for various major crimes committed in the USA. How he obtained a passport so easily and so quickly under these pending circumstances is unexplained by anyone, and is not mentioned in a single source consulted in the preparation of this study. The federal government did try to deport him in 1952, however, for concealing his criminal record when he applied for citizenship in 1936. (*New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1952, p. 12.)

    The assertions of Luciano and Valachi and the second hand testimony of a wronged wife appear to be the main evidence that he became a person of substance in Mussolini Italy and an intimate with persons high in the regime. (On Anna Genovese's suit, first for separate maintenance, then divorce, her testimony before a New Jersey grand jury, Vito Genovese's counter-divorce suit and the dismissal of both by the court, see *New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1952, p. 55; March 3, 1953, p. 19; March 20, 1953, p. 20; August 20, 1953, p. 29.) No one alleges that he created a criminal empire there in the six years prior to the overthrow of Mussolini and the entry upon the scene of the Anglo-American "liberators" in 1943.

    What is evident however is that within a few months of the latter event Genovese organized an impressive ring of professional criminality in Italy in some areas occupied by Mussolini's conquerors, at the same time penetrating the latter to the point of becoming a part of the Military Government. This is a disconcerting fact, and all accounts of the Mafia cover this over quickly and heavily, concentrating on a narrative of his pursuit by Army CID. But nothing is said about how a man as notorious as Genovese was able to achieve this status and at the same time conceal his incredible crime operation, which he managed simultaneously in the same area where he performed his chores for Military Government. Though his alleged eminence in the Mussolini social court is subject to serious question (nothing is said of it in contemporary accounts), his taking on of a cover job in American Military Government to mask a lucrative criminal operation in the American-occupied sector of Italy is well documented.

    The reason for the glacial slowness with which extradition proceedings back to the USA were transacted is another episode in the Genovese saga which is almost entirely lacking from the conventional accounts. The attempt to build up Genovese as someone of influence

among the *Fascisti* has a hollow sound. But if it were true, then allowing him to obtain a confidential post in the Military Government so quickly would indicate a level of serious incompetence in "Allied" counterintelligence.

75. Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*, p. 275.
76. *New York Times*, May 23, 1945, p. 7.
77. *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1946, p. 38.
78. *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1946, p. 15; Feb. 10, 1946, p. 12; Feb. 11, 1946, p. 31; Feb. 21, 1946, p. 24.
79. *New York Times*, March 1, 1946, p. 11. Luciano's own colorful story of the trip back to Italy and his reception is in chapter 24 of Gosch and Hammer, *Lucky Luciano*.
80. On Lt. Col. Gurfein's later comments on Luciano's involvement in contacting Mafia leaders for help in counter-espionage during the war, see *New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1947, pp. 1, 9; On Haffenden's later comment on Luciano's assistance, see *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1947, p. 46.
81. By this time Haffenden was himself in a big scandal (actually two separate ones) related to deals with outlawed stevedoring companies on the New York docks, and New York's Mayor O'Dwyer had already removed him from his post as commander of the City Marine and Aviation Department. Haffenden was dismissed by O'Dwyer on May 24, 1946. See *New York Times*, May 25, 1946 p. 30, and May 26, 1946, p. 30. This rancorous incident was still being churned over by all concerned in 1949.
82. Sen. Kefauver's comment on Gov. Dewey's handling of the Luciano case in *New York Times*, May 15, 1951, p. 27. See also one of the contemporary books on the Mafia, Edward Reid's *Mafia* (New York: Random House, 1952).
83. *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1946, p. 2; Feb. 5, 1946, p. 7.
84. See especially *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1946, p. 23; Oct. 31, 1946, p. 2.
85. On the drive against Salvatore Giuliani, see *New York Times*, June 13, 1950, p. 12; Sept. 21, 1946, p. 4; June 24, 1947, p. 14; Sept. 22, 1947, p. 3; See also *New York Times*, June 25, 1947, p. 16; June 26, 1947, p. 4; June 28, 1947, p. 4; Nov. 22, 1947, p. 2; Sept. 24, 1948, p. 8; May 16, 1949, p. 11.

    On the killing of Giuliani in July 1950, see *New York Times*, July 6, 1950, p. 1; On the repercussions of the killing, and the buildup of the scandal see *New York Times*, March 19, 1954, p. 2, and Melton S. Davis, *All Rome Trembled: The Strange Affair of Wilma Montesi* (New York: Putnam, 1957), pp. 137–139.

    On the trial of 63 members of Giuliani's gang, see *New York Times*, May 14, 1954, p. 5.

    The Wilma Montesi scandal was brewing simultaneously with the closing stages of the Giuliani business, and in some respects overlapped. The closing chapters of Davis, *All Rome Trembled*, contain the most extended examination of the ramifications of the Montesi matter. His study unfortunately lacks an index, and one must wade through much extraneous material in getting at the core of the issue involved.
86. On the persistence of the Mafia in Sicily in recent times, see Danilo Dolci, *The Man Who Plays Alone* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), and Gaia Servadio, *Mafioso: A History of the Mafia from Its Origins to the Present Day* (New York: Stein and Day, 1976).

Could *You* Survive a Nuclear Attack?

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'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths

Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story

MARK WEBER

Fifty years ago, on April 15, 1945, British troops liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The anniversary was widely remembered in official ceremonies and in newspaper articles that, as the following essay shows, distort the camp's true history.

Largely because of the circumstances of its liberation, the relatively unimportant German concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen has become — along with Dachau and Buchenwald — an international symbol of German barbarism.

The British troops who liberated the Belsen camp three weeks before the end of the war were shocked and disgusted by the many unburied corpses and dying inmates they found there. Horrific photos and films of the camp's emaciated corpses and mortally sick inmates were quickly circulated around the globe. Within weeks the British military occupation newspaper proclaimed: "The story of that greatest of all exhibitions of 'man's inhumanity to man' which was Belsen Concentration Camp is known throughout the world."[1]

Ghastly images recorded by Allied photographers at Belsen in mid-April 1945 and widely reproduced ever since have greatly contributed to the camp's reputation as a notorious extermination center. In fact, the dead of Bergen-Belsen were, above all, unfortunate victims of war and its turmoil, not deliberate policy. It can even be argued that they were as much victims of Allied as of German measures.

The Bergen-Belsen camp was located near Hannover in northwestern Germany on the site of a former army camp for wounded prisoners of war. In 1943 it was established as an internment camp (*Aufenthaltslager*) for European Jews who were to be exchanged for German citizens held by the Allies.

More than 9,000 Jews with citizenship papers or passports from Latin American countries, entry visas for Palestine, or other documents making them eligible for emigration, arrived in late 1943 and 1944 from Poland, France, Holland and other parts of Europe. During the final months of the war, several groups of these "exchange Jews" were transported from Axis-occupied Europe. German authorities transferred several hundred to neutral Switzerland, and at least one group of 222 Jewish detainees was transferred from Belsen (by way of neutral Turkey) to British-controlled Palestine.[2]

Until late 1944 conditions were generally better than in other concentration camps. Marika Frank Abrams, a Jewish woman from Hungary, was transferred from Auschwitz in 1944. Years later she recalled her arrival at Belsen: "... We were each given two blankets and a dish. There was running water and latrines. We were given food that was edible and didn't have to stand for hours to be counted. The conditions were so superior to Auschwitz we felt we were practically in a sanitarium."[3]

Inmates normally received three meals a day. Coffee and bread were served in the morning and evening, with cheese and sausage as available. The main mid-day meal consisted of one liter of vegetable stew. Families lived together. Otherwise, men and women were housed in separate barracks.[4]

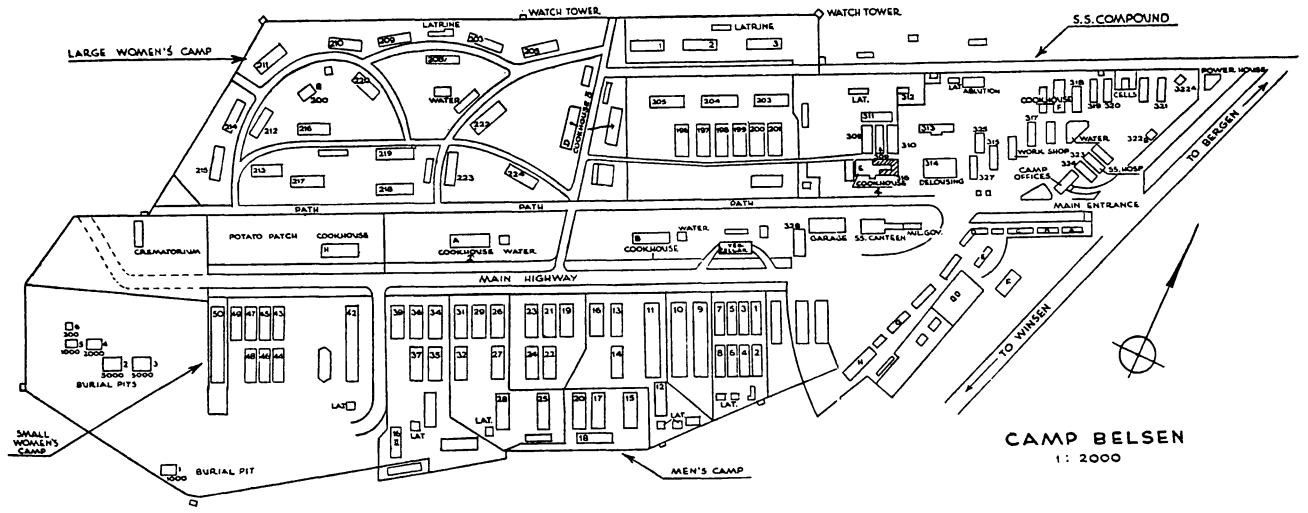
Children were also held there. There were some 500 Jewish children in Belsen's "No. 1 Women's Camp" section when British forces arrived.[5]

During the final months of the war, tens of thousands of Jews were evacuated to Belsen from Auschwitz and other eastern camps threatened by the advancing Soviets. Belsen became severely overcrowded as the number of inmates increased from 15,000 in December 1944 to 42,000 at the beginning of March 1945, and more than 50,000 a month later.[6]

Many of these Jewish prisoners had chosen to be evacuated westwards with their German captors rather than remain in eastern camps to await liberation by Soviet forces.[7]

So catastrophic had conditions become during the final months of the war that about a third of the prisoners evacuated to Belsen in February and March 1945 perished during the journey and were dead on arrival.[8]

As order broke down across Europe during those chaotic final months, regular deliveries of food and medicine to the camp stopped. Foraging trucks were



Plan of the Bergen-Belsen camp

sent to scrounge up whatever supplies of bread, potatoes and turnips were available in nearby towns.[9]

Epidemic

Disease was kept under control by routinely disinfecting all new arrivals. But in early February 1945 a large transport of Hungarian Jews was admitted while the disinfection facility was out of order. As a result, typhus broke out and quickly spread beyond control.[10]

Commandant Josef Kramer quarantined the camp in an effort to save lives, but SS camp administration headquarters in Berlin insisted that Belsen be kept open to receive still more Jewish evacuees arriving from the East. The death rate soon rose to 400 a day.[11]

The worst killer was typhus, but typhoid fever and dysentery also claimed many lives. Aggravating the situation was a policy during the final months of transferring already sick inmates from other camps to Belsen, which was then officially designated a sick or convalescence camp (*Krankenlager*). The sick women of Auschwitz, for example, were transferred to Belsen in three groups in November–December 1944.[12]

When SS chief Heinrich Himmler learned of the typhus outbreak at Bergen-Belsen, he immediately issued an order to all appropriate officials requiring that "all medical means necessary to combat the epidemic should be employed ... There can be no question of skimping either with doctors or medical supplies." However, the general breakdown of order that prevailed on Germany by this time made it impossible to implement the command.[13]

'Belsen Worst'

Violette Fintz, a Jewish woman who had been deported from the island of Rhodes to Auschwitz in mid-1944, and then to Dachau and, finally, in early 1945, to Belsen, later compared conditions in the different camps:[14]

> Belsen was in the beginning bearable and we had bunks to sleep on, and a small ration of soup and bread. But as the camp got fuller, our group and many others were given a barracks to hold about seven hundred lying on the floor without blankets and without food or anything. It was a pitiful scene as the camp was attacked by lice and most of the people had typhus and cholera ... Many people talk about Auschwitz — it was a horrible camp. But Belsen, no words can describe it ... From my experience and suffering, Belsen was the worst.

Belsen's most famous inmate was doubtless Anne Frank, who had been evacuated from Auschwitz in late October 1994. She succumbed to typhus in March 1945, three or four weeks before liberation.

Kramer Reports a 'Catastrophe'

In a March 1, 1945, letter to *Gruppenführer* (General) Richard Glücks, head of the SS camp administration agency, Commandant Kramer reported in detail on the catastrophic situation in the Bergen-Belsen, and pleaded for help:[15]

> If I had sufficient sleeping accommodation at my disposal, then the accommodation of the detainees who have already arrived and of those still to come would appear more possible. In addition to this question a spotted fever and typhus epidemic has now begun, which

increases in extent every day. The daily mortality rate, which was still in the region of 60–70 at the beginning of February, has in the meantime attained a daily average of 250–300 and will increase still further in view of the conditions which at present prevail.

Supply. When I took over the camp, winter supplies for 1500 internees had been indented for; some had been received, but the greater part had not been delivered. This failure was due not only to difficulties of transport, but also to the fact that practically nothing is available in this area and all must be brought from outside the area ...

For the last four days there has been no delivery [of food] from Hannover owing to interrupted communications, and I shall be compelled, if this state of affairs prevails till the end of the week, to fetch bread also by means of truck from Hannover. The trucks allotted to the local unit are in no way adequate for this work, and I am compelled to ask for at least three to four trucks and five to six trailers. When I once have here a means of towing then I can send out the trailers into the surrounding area ... The supply question must, without fail, be cleared up in the next few days. I ask you, *Gruppenführer*, for an allocation of transport ...

State of Health. The incidence of disease is very high here in proportion to the number of detainees. When you interviewed me on Dec. 1, 1944, at Oranienburg, you told me that Bergen-Belsen was to serve as a sick camp for all concentration camps in north Germany. The number of sick has greatly increased, particularly on account of the transports of detainees that have arrived from the East in recent times — these transports have sometimes spent eight or fourteen days in open trucks ...

The fight against spotted fever is made extremely difficult by the lack of means of disinfection. Due to constant use, the hot-air delousing machine is now in bad working order and sometimes fails for several days ...

A catastrophe is taking place for which no one wishes to assume responsibility ... *Gruppenführer*, I can assure you that from this end everything will be done to overcome the present crisis ...

I am now asking you for your assistance as it lies in your power. In addition to the abovementioned points I need here, before everything, accommodation facilities, beds, blankets, eating utensils — all for about 20,000 internees ... I implore your help in overcoming this situation.

Mass grave at Belsen camp, shortly after its liberation by British troops. Photographs such as this are widely reproduced as proof of a German policy of extermination. Contrary to Allied propaganda claims of the time, and Holocaust allegations in recent decades, though, these unfortunate prisoners were victims of typhus and starvation that were indirect consequences of the war — not of any deliberate policy. At least 14,000 Jews died in the camp following the British takeover.

Under such terrible conditions, Kramer did everything in his power to reduce suffering and prevent death among the inmates, even appealing to the hard-pressed German army. "I don't know what else to do," he told high-ranking army officers. "I have reached the limit. Masses of people are dying. The drinking water supply has broken down. A trainload of food was destroyed by low-flying [Allied] war planes. Something must be done immediately."[16]

Working together with both Commandant Kramer and chief inmate representative Kuestermeier, Colonel Hanns Schmidt responded by arranging for the local volunteer fire department to provide water. He also saw to it that food supplies were brought to the camp from abandoned rail cars. Schmidt later recalled that Kramer "did not at all impress one as a criminal type. He acted like an upright and rather honorable man. Neither did he strike me as someone with a guilty conscience. He worked with great dedication to improve conditions in the camp. For example, he rounded up horse drawn vehicles to bring food to the camp from rail cars that had been shot up."[17]

"I was swamped," Kramer later explained to incredulous British military interrogators:[18]

> The camp was not really inefficient before you [British and American forces] crossed the

Rhine. There was running water, regular meals of a kind — I had to accept what food I was given for the camp and distribute it the best way I could. But then they suddenly began to send me trainloads of new prisoners from all over Germany. It was impossible to cope with them. I appealed for more staff, more food. I was told that this was impossible. I had to carry on with what I had.

Then as a last straw the Allies bombed the electric plant that pumped our water. Loads of food were unable to reach the camp because of the Allied fighters. Then things really got out of hand. During the last six weeks I have been helpless. I did not even have sufficient staff to bury the dead, let alone segregate the sick ... I tried to get medicines and food for the prisoners and I failed. I was swamped. I may have been hated, but I was doing my duty.

Kramer's clear conscience is also suggested by the fact that he made no effort to save his life by fleeing, but instead calmly awaited the approaching British forces, naively confident of decent treatment. "When Belsen Camp was eventually taken over by the Allies," he later stated, "I was quite satisfied that I had done all I possibly could under the circumstances to remedy the conditions in the camp."[19]

Negotiated Transfer

As British forces approached Bergen-Belsen, German authorities sought to turn over the camp to the British so that it would not become a combat zone. After some negotiation, it was peacefully transferred, with an agreement that "both British and German troops will make every effort to avoid battle in the area."[20]

A revealing account of the circumstances under which the British took control appeared in a 1945 issue of *The Journal of the American Medical Association*:[21]

> By negotiations between British and German officers, British troops took over from the SS and the Wehrmacht the task of guarding the vast concentration camp at Belsen, a few miles northwest of Celle, which contains 60,000 prisoners, many of them political. This has been done because typhus is rampant in the camp and it is vital that no prisoners be released until the infection is checked. The advancing British agreed to refrain from bombing or shelling the area of the camp, and the Germans agreed to leave behind an armed guard which would be allowed to return to their own lines a week after the British arrival.
>
> The story of the negotiations is curious. Two German officers presented themselves before the British outposts and explained that there were 9,000 sick in the camp and that all sanitation had failed. They proposed that the British should occupy the camp at once, as the responsibility was international in the interests of health. In return for the delay caused by the truce the Germans offered to surrender intact the bridges over the river Aller. After brief consideration the British senior officer rejected the German proposals, saying it was necessary that the British should occupy an area of ten kilometers round the camp in order to be sure of keeping their troops and lines of communication away from the disease. The British eventually took over the camp.

Brutal Mistreatment

On April 15, 1945, Belsen's commanders turned over the camp to British troops, who lost no time mistreating the SS camp personnel. The Germans were beaten with rifle butts, kicked, and stabbed with bayonets. Most were shot or worked to death.[22]

British journalist Alan Moorehead described the treatment of some of the camp personnel shortly after the takeover:[23]

> As we approached the cells of the SS guards, the [British] sergeant's language become ferocious. "We had had an interrogation this morning," the captain said. 'I'm afraid they are not a pretty sight.' ... The sergeant unbolted the first door and ... strode into the cell, jabbing a metal spike in front of him. "Get up," he shouted. "Get up. Get up, you dirty bastards." There were half a dozen men lying or half lying on the floor. One or two were able to pull themselves erect at once. The man nearest me, his shirt and face spattered with blood, made two attempts before he got on to his knees and then gradually on to his feet. He stood with his arms stretched out in front of him, trembling violently.
>
> "Come on. Get up," the sergeant shouted [in the next cell]. The man was lying in his blood on the floor, a massive figure with a heavy head and bedraggled beard ... "Why don't you kill me?" he whispered. "Why don't you kill me? I can't stand it any more." The same phrases dribbled out of his lips over and over again. "He's been saying that all morning, the dirty bastard," the sergeant said.

Commandant Kramer, who was vilified in the British and American press as "The Beast of Belsen" and "The Monster of Belsen," was put on trial and then executed, along with chief physician Dr. Fritz Klein and other camp officials. At his trial, Kramer's

defense attorney, Major T.C.M. Winwood, predicted: "When the curtain finally rings down on this stage Josef Kramer will, in my submission, stand forth not as 'The Beast of Belsen' but as 'The Scapegoat of Belsen'."[24]

In an "act of revenge," the British liberators expelled the residents of the nearby town of Bergen, and then permitted camp inmates to loot the houses and buildings. Much of the town was also set on fire.[25]

Josef Kramer in British captivity. After a military trial, the former Bergen-Belsen Commandant was put to death.

Postwar Deaths

There were some 55,000 to 60,000 prisoners in Bergen-Belsen when the British took control of the camp. The new administrators proved no more capable of mastering the chaos than the Germans had been, and some 14,000 Jewish inmates died at Belsen in the months following the British takeover.[26]

Although still occasionally referred to as an "extermination camp" or "mass murder" center, the truth about Bergen-Belsen has been quietly acknowledged by scholars.[27] In his 1978 survey of German history, University of Erlangen professor Helmut Diwald wrote of[28]

> ... The notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the final months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition — consequences of the bombings that had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

Martin Broszat, Director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, wrote in 1976:[29]

> ... In Bergen-Belsen, for example, thousands of corpses of Jewish prisoners were found by British soldiers on the day of liberation, which gave the impression that this was one of the notorious extermination camps. Actually, many Jews in Bergen-Belsen as well as in the satellite camps of Dachau died in the last weeks before the end of the war as a result of the quickly improvised retransfers and evacuations of Jewish workers from the still existing ghettos, work camps and concentration camps in the East (Auschwitz) ...

Dr. Russell Barton, an English physician who spent a month in Bergen-Belsen after the war with the British Army, has also explained the reasons for the catastrophic conditions found there:[30]

> Most people attributed the conditions of the inmates to deliberate intention on the part of the Germans in general and the camp administrators in particular. Inmates were eager to cite examples of brutality and neglect, and visiting journalists from different countries interpreted the situation according to the needs of propaganda at home.
>
> For example, one newspaper emphasized the wickedness of the "German masters" by remarking that some of the 10,000 unburied dead were naked. In fact, when the dead were taken from a hut and left in the open for burial, other prisoners would take their clothing from them ...
>
> German medical officers told me that it had been increasingly difficult to transport food to the camp for some months. Anything that moved on the autobahns was likely to be bombed ...
>
> I was surprised to find records, going back for two or three years, of large quantities of food cooked daily for distribution. I became convinced, contrary to popular opinion, that there had never been a policy of deliberate starvation. This was confirmed by the large numbers of well-fed inmates. Why then were so many people suffering from malnutrition?... The major reasons for the state of Belsen were disease, gross overcrowding by central authority, lack of law and order within the huts, and inadequate supplies of food, water and drugs. In trying to assess the causes of the conditions found in Belsen one must be alerted to the tremendous visual display, ripe for purposes of propaganda, that masses of starved corpses presented.

Gas Chamber Myths

Some former inmates and a few historians have claimed that Jews were put to death in gas chambers at Bergen-Belsen. For example, an "authoritative" work published shortly after the end of the war, *A History of World War II*, informed readers: "In Belsen, [Commandant] Kramer kept an orchestra to play him Viennese music while he watched

A protest meeting in the Bergen-Belsen camp, September 1947. For five years following the end of the war, British authorities maintained the camp as a "Displaced Persons" center. During this period it flourished as a major black market center. At this pro-Zionist gathering of 4,000 Jews, camp leader Joseph Rosensaft speaks against British policy in Palestine.

children torn from their mothers to be burned alive. Gas chambers disposed of thousands of persons daily."[31]

In *Jews, God and History*, Jewish historian Max Dimont wrote of gassings at Bergen-Belsen.[32] A semi-official work published in Poland in 1981 claimed that women and babies were "put to death in gas chambers" at Belsen.[33]

In 1945 the Associated Press news agency reported:[34]

> In Lueneburg, Germany, a Jewish physician, testifying at the trial of 45 men and women for war crimes at the Belsen and Oswiecim [Auschwitz] concentration camps, said that 80,000 Jews, representing the entire ghetto of Lodz, Poland, had been gassed or burned to death in one night at the Belsen camp.

Five decades after the camp's liberation, British army Captain Robert Daniell recalled seeing "the gas chambers" there.[35]

Years after the war, Robert Spitz, a Hungarian Jew, remembered taking a shower at Belsen in February 1945: "... It was delightful. What I didn't know then was that there were other showers in the same building where gas came out instead of water."[36]

Another former inmate, Moshe Peer, recalled a miraculous escape from death as an eleven-year-old in the camp. In a 1993 interview with a Canadian newspaper, the French-born Peer claimed that he "was sent to the [Belsen] camp gas chamber at least six times." The newspaper account went on to relate: "Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn't know how he was able to survive." In an effort to explain the miracle, Peer mused: "Maybe children resist better, I don't know." (Although Peer claimed that "Bergen-Belsen was worse than Auschwitz," he acknowledged that he and his younger brother and sister, who were deported to the camp in 1944, all somehow survived internment there.)[37]

Such gas chamber tales are entirely fanciful. As early as 1960, historian Martin Broszat had publicly repudiated the Belsen gassing story. These days no reputable scholar supports it.[38]

Exaggerated Death Estimates

Estimates of the number of people who died in Bergen-Belsen have ranged widely over the years. Many have been irresponsible exaggerations. Typical is a 1985 York *Daily News* report, which told readers that "probably 100,000 died at Bergen-Belsen."[39] An official German government publication issued in 1990 declared that "more than 50,000 people had been murdered" in the Belsen camp under German control, and "an additional 13,000 died in the first weeks after liberation."[40]

Closer to the truth is the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, which maintains that 37,000 perished in the camp before the British takeover, and another 14,000 afterwards.[41]

Whatever the actual number of dead, Belsen's victims were not "murdered," and the camp was not an "extermination" center.

Black Market Center

From 1945 until 1950, when it was finally shut down, the British maintained Belsen as a camp for displaced European Jews. During this period it achieved new notoriety as a major European black market center. The "uncrowned king" of Belsen's 10,000 Jews was Yossl (Josef) Rosensaft, who amassed tremendous profits from the illegal trading. Rosensaft had been interned in various camps, including Auschwitz, before arriving in Belsen in early April 1945.[42]

British Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan, chief of "displaced persons" operations in postwar Germany for the United Nations relief organization UNRRA recalled in his memoir that[43]

> under Zionist auspices there had been organized at Belsen a vast illegitimate trading organization with worldwide ramifications and dealing in a wide range of goods, principally precious metals and stones. A money market dealt with a wide range of currencies. Goods

were being imported in cryptically marked containers consigned in UNRRA shipments to Jewish voluntary agencies ...

Legacy

A kind of memorial center now draws many tourists annually to the camp site. Not surprisingly, Bergen's 13,000 residents are not very pleased with their town's infamous reputation. Citizens report being called "murderers" during visits to foreign countries.[44]

In striking contrast to the widely-accepted image of Belsen, which is essentially a product of hateful wartime propaganda, is the suppressed, albeit grim, historical reality. In truth, the Bergen-Belsen story may be regarded as the Holocaust story in miniature.

Notes

1. Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth about Hitler's 'Final Solution'* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), p. 1.
2. Testimony of Commandant Kramer in: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949), p. 160; "Bergen-Belsen," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: Macmillan and Keter, 1971), Vol. 4, p. 610. According to this source, one group of 136 of these "exchange Jews" was deported from Belsen during the war to neutral Switzerland, and another group of 222 was transferred to Palestine.; According to an Israeli newspaper report, a group of 222 "exchange" Jews reportedly left Bergen-Belsen on June 29, 1944, and, by way of Istanbul, arrived in Palestine on July 10. (*Israel Nachrichten*, quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung*, Munich, Sept. 23, 1994, p. 5)
3. Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: NAL, 1981), p. 190.
4. Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 731–737. This is also in: Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach: Institute for Historical Review, 1993), pp. 272–274.
5. R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 19, 32, 33; Roman Hrabar, with Zofia Tokarz and J. E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), p. 76.
6. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 4, p. 610; *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1986; 2 vols.), pp. 1761–1762.
7. Testimony of Dr. Russell Barton, Feb. 7, 1985, in the first "Holocaust" trial of Ernst Zündel. Official trial transcript, pp. 2916–2917; See also Barton's testimony during the second, 1988 Zündel trial in: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), p. 175, and, Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Ala.: Reporter Press, 1990), p. 159.
8. Testimony of Commandant Kramer in: R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, p. 162.
9. Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 731–737. Also in: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 274.
10. Derrick Sington, *Belsen Uncovered* (London: 1946), pp. 117–118. Quoted in: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 34–35; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books, pb., 1971), p. 504 (note).
11. R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 152–153, 166–167, 734, 736; Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (London: Granada, 1983), p. 224; Dr. Ernst von Briesen, "Was passierte in Bergen-Belsen wirklich?," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Jan. 13, 1984, pp. 4, 5, 8.
12. G.Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 497 (and 638, n. 23).
13. Andre Biss, *A Million Jews to Save* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1975), pp. 242, 249–250; Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940–1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 276.
14. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986), pp. 722, 785–786.
15. R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 163–166.
16. Signed report by retired Colonel (*Oberst a.D.*) Hanns Schmidt to Kurt Mehner and Lt. Colonel Bechtold, Braunschweig, March 3, 1981. Photocopy in author's possession.
17. Signed report by Hanns Schmidt to Kurt Mehner and Lt. Colonel Bechtold, March 3, 1981. Photocopy in author's possession.
18. Essay by Alan Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1953), pp. 109–110.
19. Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, p. 737. Also quoted in: A. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 275; Essay by Alan Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon*, pp. 109–110; Dr. Russell Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War* (Editor: Barrie Pitt, Copyright BPC publications, 1966), Part 109, 1975, p. 3025.
20. R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 396–397.
21. "Typhus Causes a Truce," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago), May 19, 1945, p. 220.
22. Leonard O. Mosley, *Report from Germany* (1945). Quoted in: Montgomery Belgion, *Victor's Justice* (Regnery, 1949), p. 80 (and p. 81); *Time* magazine, April 29, 1985, p. 21; See also essay by A. Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon* (London: 1953), pp. 105–106.
23. Essay by A. Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon*, pp. 105–106.
24. R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*), p. 156.
25. "Bergen-Belsen," *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), Nr. 30, 1985, pp. 71, 72.
26. "Holocaust," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 8, p. 859; M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), pp. 793–795; See also: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 20, 46–47; According to a 1992 Associated Press report, more than 60,000 prisoners were held in Belsen camp when it was liberated. Then, "in the first five days of liberation, 14,000 prisoners died and another 14,000 perished in the following weeks." Graham Heathcote, AP from Tostock, England, "2 hours changed me for the rest of my life," *Orlando Sentinel* (Florida), Dec. 20, 1992, p. A 29, and, "Journey into hell," *The Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Washington), Dec. 20, 1992.
27. *Time* magazine, April 29, 1985, p. 21, referred to Belsen as a camp created for the "extermination" of "the Jewish people."

28. Helmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Frankfurt: Propyläen, first ed., 1978), pp. 164–165.
29. M. Broszat, "Zur Kritik der Publizistik des antisemitischen Rechtsextremismus," Supplement B 19/76 of May 8, 1976, to the weekly newspaper *Das Parlament* (Bonn), p. 6. Revised from issue No. 2, 1976, of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Munich).
30. Dr. R. Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War*, Part 109, 1975, pp. 3025–3029; Barton confirmed this evaluation in testimony given in the 1985 and 1988 Toronto trials of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. On Barton's testimony in the first, 1985 trial, see: "View of Belsen was propaganda, trial told," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Feb. 8, 1985, pp. M1, M5, and, "Disease killed Nazis' prisoners, MD says," *Toronto Star*, Feb. 8, 1985, p. A2; On Barton's testimony in the second, 1988 Zündel trial, see: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?*, pp. 175–180, and, R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial* (1990), pp. 157–160; Among his other positions after the war, Barton was superintendent and consultant psychiatrist at Severalls Hospital (Essex, England), and director of the Rochester Psychiatric Center (New York).
31. Francis Trevelyan Miller, Litt.D., LLD, *A History of World War II* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1945), p. 868.
32. M. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet/NAL, pb., 1962?), p. 383.
33. R. Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: 1981), p. 76.
34. *The Associated Press News Annual: 1945*, p. 404.
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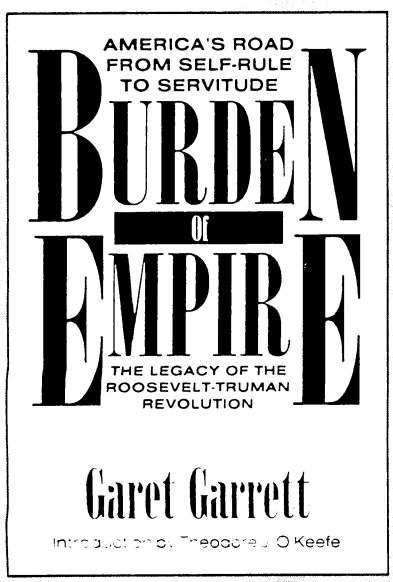
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Anne Frank

Known around the world for her famous diary, Anne Frank is perhaps the most commemorated "victim of the Holocaust." On the fiftieth anniversary of her death, and of the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp where she died, she has been the subject of renewed attention.

Translated into dozens of languages, more than 22 million copies of her diary are estimated to have been sold worldwide — millions of them to secondary schools. In terms of its public impact, says "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal, the Anne Frank diary is "more important than the Nuremberg trials." (*The Washington Post*, April 1, 1979, p. H3)

Influential organizations and much of the western media promote a quasi-religious Anne Frank cult. She has become a kind of secular saint. As the British monthly *History Today* noted in its March 1985 issue:

> The impact of the Diary has been immense, especially on younger generations, school children, adolescents and students. In Germany, a type of Anne Frank cult developed in the fifties similar to movements started by St. Teresa and St. Bernadette. In 1957, mass emotion was channelled into a pilgrimage of two thousand young people, mainly from Hamburg, to Bergen-Belsen where, in pouring rain during the course of a ceremony, flowers were placed on the mass graves — in one of which Anne Frank was buried.

Anne Frank's fate is not unlike that of many other lesser-known victims of the wartime anti-Jewish policies imposed in Axis-ruled Europe. On August 4, 1944, police raided the "annex" in Amsterdam, Netherlands, where the Frank family had been living for two years. They were taken to the Dutch transfer camp of Westerbork.

As part of the German program to evacuate Jews from western Europe, the 15-year-old girl and other members of her family were deported by train from the Netherlands to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in what is now southern Poland.

Several weeks later, in the face of the advancing Soviet army, Anne — along with thousands of other Jewish prisoners — was evacuated by rail from Auschwitz more than four hundred miles westward to the Bergen-Belsen camp in northwestern Germany.

Along with many other Belsen camp inmates, Anne came down with typhus, from which she died in mid-March 1945. She was not killed or murdered. Anne Frank perished — like millions of others, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in Europe during that terrible time — an indirect victim of history's most devastating war.

Anne Frank

Few people realize that Anne, along with father and sister, and thousands of other Jews, "survived" Auschwitz-Birkenau. Her father, Otto Frank, came down with typhus and was transferred to the camp infirmary there to recover. He was one of thousands of sick and feeble Jews who were left behind when the Germans abandoned the camp in January 1945, shortly before it was overrun by the Soviets. He died in Switzerland in August 1980.

If the German policy had been to kill Anne Frank and her father, they would not have survived Auschwitz-Birkenau. Their fate, as tragic as it was, cannot be reconciled with the Holocaust extermination story.

— M. W.

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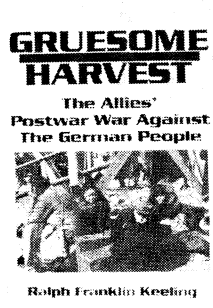

Anne Frank may not have inked that famous diary

By AL FREDRICKS

A REPORT by the German Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau (BKA) indicates that portions of *The Diary of Anne Frank* had been altered or added after 1951, casting doubt over the authenticity of the entire work, the West German news weekly Der Spiegel has disclosed.

The diary, a day-to-day account of the anguish of a young Jewish girl and her family hiding in in their Amsterdam home during the Nazi invasion, has touched the hearts of millions.

The manuscript was examined on orders of a West German court as part of a libel action brought by Otto Frank, Anne's father and the only family member to survive the concentration camps, against Ernst Roemer for spreading the allegation the book was a fraud.

This was the second suit against Roemer, a longtime critic of the book, by Frank. In the first case, the court decided in Frank's favor when the testimony of historians and graphologists sufficed to authenticate the diary.

In April, however, only a short time before Otto Frank's death on Aug. 19, the manuscript was turned over to technicians of the BKA for examination.

The manuscript, in the form of three hardbound notebooks and 324 loose pages bound in a fourth notebook, was examined with special equipment.

The results of tests performed at the BKA laboratories show that portions of the work, specifically of the fourth volume, were written with a ball point pen. Since ballpoint pens were not available before 1951, the BKA concluded, those sections must have been added subsequently.

The examination of the manuscript did not, however, unearth any conclusive evidence to lay to rest the speculations about the authenticity of the first three notebooks.

Over the years considerable doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the diary of Bergen-Belsen's best-known victim. For example, this article appeared in the mass-circulation daily *New York Post*, Oct. 9, 1980. Probably the most detailed critique is by French professor Dr. Robert Faurisson, whose essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," was published in the Summer 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*.

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Murray Rothbard, 1926–1995

When he died on January 7 in New York, the city where he was born in 1926 and spent most of his life, Murray N. Rothbard was the foremost libertarian thinker and activist of his age. With his passing, the world of unfettered scholarship has suffered a terrible loss. "As a libertarian figure," commented Pat Buchanan, "he's one of the giants of the postwar era."

"I grew up in a Communist culture," Rothbard once recalled. "The middle-class Jews in New York whom I lived among, whether family, friends, or neighbors, were either Communists or fellow-travelers in the Communist orbit. I had two sets of Communist Party uncles and aunts, on both sides of my family." From the very beginning, though, "I was a right-winger and bitterly anti-socialist."

"In one family gathering featuring endless pledges of devotion to 'Loyalist' Spain during the Civil War," he recalled, "I piped up, at the age of 11 or 12, 'What's wrong with Franco, anyway?... My query was a conversation stopper, all right, but I never received an answer."

As a graduate student at Columbia University, Rothbard signed up in 1948 with "Students for Thurmond," a pro-segregationist, states' rights group that (he later recalled) included "one New York Jew, myself."

For 22 years Dr. Rothbard taught economics at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and from the mid-1980s he was S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Murray Rothbard's writing was characterized by innovative insight and skepticism of all orthodoxy. His prodigious output — covering economic theory, politics, political theory, philosophy, sociology and history — included some 25 books and thousands of articles, essays, speeches and reviews, both popular and scholarly, that appeared in a wide range of journals, newsletters and newspapers.

Over the years Rothbard also served as editor or co-editor of *Left and Right*, *Libertarian Forum* and, at the time of his death, the *Review of Austrian Economics*, the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, and the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report*.

Probably his most influential work is *Man, Economy, and State* (1962). Possibly the finest text on economic theory ever written, this book provides a scholarly exposition of "Austrian school" methodology in economics, with ground-breaking insights in monopoly theory and other areas.

His 1963 work, *America's Great Depression*, is the first major text to offer a revisionist indictment of Herbert Hoover as a pre-New Deal interventionist. Meticulously and brilliantly, it lays the blame for the great social-economic catastrophe at the door of government action, particularly in the form of inflationary Federal Reserve Bank credit expansion.

Rothbard's final work, a two-volume history of economic thought, brought together many hitherto largely ignored contributions to economic and political theory from sources as diverse as the ancient Chinese individualist anarchist Chuang Tzu to the economic contributions of the late medieval Spanish Scholastics. The work also convincingly deflates the overblown reputation of Adam Smith.

In a just world, Murray Rothbard would have received a Nobel Prize.

Murray N. Rothbard

Throughout his adult life, Rothbard was a zealous champion of individual liberty and a fierce enemy of the "welfare-warfare" state. Early on he enlisted with the "Old Right" opponents of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and with the "America First" foes of foreign military intervention.

Uncompromisingly hostile to war and war propaganda, he was one of the few who remained true to his convictions even during the stifling Cold War era. Along with Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn and Harry Elmer Barnes, he continued steadfastly to oppose the US military-industrial complex and the military adventurism that is an integral part of its "perpetual war for perpetual peace" policy.

To the end Rothbard remained an eloquent enemy of the establishment, battling both its liberal and neo-conservative wings. (One of his last published articles was a *Washington Post* essay blasting Newt Gingrich and the Republican Party's "Contract With America.") He was consistently scornful of the conservative intellectual establishment, accusing *National Review* chief William Buckley of having "purged the conservative movement of the genuine right." Ironically, his anti-government, anti-war views brought him into a tactical alliance with the New Left during the Vietnam War.

Rothbard embraced historical revisionism in all its facets, including taboo issues of the Second World War. He was a colleague of Harry Elmer Barnes, whose last published work, "Pearl Harbor After a Quarter Century," appeared in a journal co-edited by Rothbard. He also contributed an essay to the

one of the leading arguments against any sort of rational negotiations with the Communist nations, and the stigmatizing of even the most harmless search for agreement as "appeasement." It is for this reason that A. J. P. Taylor's magnificent *Origins of the Second World War* received probably its most distorted and frenetic review in the pages of *National Review.*

It is about time that Americans learn: that Bad Guys (Nazis or Communists) may not necessarily want or desire war, or be out to "conquer" the world (their hope for "conquest" may be strictly ideological and not military at all); that Bad Guys may also fear the possibility of *our* use of our enormous military might and aggressive posture to *attack* them; that both the Bad Guys and Good Guys may have common interests which make negotiation possible (e.g., that neither wants to be annihilated by nuclear weapons); that *no* organization is a "monolith," and that "agents" are often simply ideological allies who can and do split with their supposed "masters"; and that, finally, we may learn the most profound lesson of all: that the domestic policy of a government is often no index whatever to its foreign policy.

We are still, in the last analysis, suffering from the delusion of Woodrow Wilson: that "democracies" *ipso facto* will never embark on war, and that "dictatorships" are always prone to engage in war. Much as we may and do abhor the domestic programs of most dictators (and certainly of the Nazis and Communists), this has no necessary relation to their foreign policies: indeed, many dictatorships have been passive and static in history, and, contrariwise, many democracies have led in promoting and waging war. Revisionism may, once and for all, be able to destroy this Wilsonian myth.

There is only one real difference between the capacity of a democracy and a dictatorship to wage war: democracies invariably engage much more widely in deceptive war propaganda, to whip up and persuade the public. Democracies that wage war need to produce much more propaganda to whip up their citizens, and at the same time to camouflage their policies much more intensely in hypocritical moral cant to fool the voters. The lack of need for this on the part of dictatorships often makes their policies seem superficially to be more warlike, and this is one of the reasons why they have had a "bad press" in this century.

The task of revisionism has been to penetrate beneath these superficialities and appearances to the stark realities underneath — realities which show, certainly in this century, the U.S., Great Britain, and France — the three great "democracies" — to be worse than any other three countries in fomenting and waging aggressive war. Realization of this truth would be of incalculable importance on the current scene.

Conservatives should not need to be reminded of the flimsiness of the "democratic" myth; we are familiar now with the concept of "totalitarian democracy," of the frequent propensity of the masses to tyrannize over minorities. If conservatives can see this truth in domestic affairs, why not in foreign?

There are many other, more specific but also important, lessons that revisionism can teach us. The Cold War, as well as World Wars I and II, has been launched by the Western democracies so as to meddle in the affairs of Eastern Europe. The great power-fact about Eastern Europe is that the smaller nations there are fated to be under the dominance, friendly or otherwise, of Germany and/or Russia.

In World War I, the U.S. and Britain went to war partly to help Russia expand into the part of Eastern Europe then dominated by Austria-Hungary and Germany. This act of meddling on our part, at the cost of untold lives, both West and East, and of an enormous increase in militarism, statism, and socialism at home, led to a situation in Eastern Europe which brought the U.S. and Britain into World War II, to keep *Germany* from dominating Eastern Europe.

As soon as World War II was over (with its enormous consequent increase in statism, militarism, and socialism in the U.S.), the U.S. and Britain felt they had to launch a Cold War to oust Russia from the dominance over Eastern Europe which it had obtained as a natural consequence of the joint defeat of Germany. How much longer is the United States to play with the fate of the American people, or even the human race itself, for the sake of imposing a solution of our own liking on Eastern Europe? And if we should wage a holocaust to "destroy communism," and there should (doubtfully) be any Americans remaining, how distinguishable from communism will the American system, in reality, be?

There have been two major facets to the Cold War: trying to establish U.S. and British hegemony over Eastern Europe, and attempting to suppress nationalist revolutions that would take undeveloped countries outside of the Western imperialist orbit. Here again, revisionism of World War II has important lessons to teach us today. For in World War I, England, backed by the United States, went to war against Germany to try to hobble an important commercial competitor which had started late in the imperialist game. Before World Wars I *and* II, Britain and France tried to preserve their imperialist domination as against the "have-not" nations Germany and Japan that came late in the imperialist race.

And now, after World War II, the United States has assumed the imperialist scepter from the weakened hands of Britain and France. Revisionism thus provides us with the insight that America has now become the world colossus of imperialism, propping up puppet and client states all over the undeveloped areas of the world, and fiercely attempting to suppress nationalist revolutions that would take these countries out of the American imperial orbit.

As Garet Garrett also said: "We have crossed the boundary that lies between republic and empire." Communism having allied itself with the immensely popular movements of national liberation against imperialism, the United States, in the hypocritical name of "freedom," is now [1966] engaged in the logical conclusion of its Cold War policy: attempting to exterminate a whole nation in Viet Nam to make very sure that *they* are rather dead than Red — and to preserve American imperial rule.

All these lessons revisionism has to teach us. For revisionism, in the final analysis, is based on truth and rationality. Truth and rationality are always the first victims in any war frenzy; and they are, therefore, once again an extremely rare commodity on today's "market." Revisionism brings to the artificial frenzy of daily events and day-to-day propaganda, the cool but in the last analysis glorious light of historical truth. Such truth is almost desperately needed in today's world.

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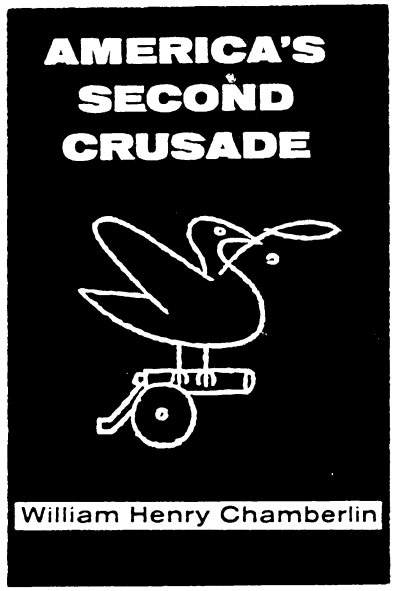

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Zündel's Office-Home Damaged in Arson Attack

Zionist Group Claims Responsibility

MARK WEBER

A criminal arson attack on Sunday morning, May 7, badly damaged the headquarters and home in Toronto of German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel.

"It was set on fire, and it's possible an accelerant was used," a Toronto police officer said. Authorities estimate damage at approximately $400,000 to the building and the contents inside, including most of a large library. In addition, three tenants in an adjoining building, which suffered an estimated $200,000 in damage, were made homeless by the attack.

Most of Zündel's building survived the fire, which was set from the outside. His recording studio and equipment, as well as office computers, most of the office archives, and a large stock of audio and video tapes survived the attack. "My Holocaust documentation and my file systems are, apart from water damage, safe," he says.

From his two-story home-office near the Toronto city center, the German-born civil rights activist publishes and distributes Third Reich literature and cassette tapes as well as Holocaust revisionist books and booklets, and newsletters in both German and English.

Zündel's house was damaged in a pipe bomb attack in 1984, and has been the target of several protest demonstrations. In recent years it has been attacked by mobs organized by the "Anti-Racist Action" and other local leftist organizations.

At the time of the attack, Zündel was away in western Canada to meet with his attorney, Douglas Christie, to discuss possible legal measures against those who recently had been intimidating and harassing him. Jerry Neumann, a Zündel colleague, was in the building at the time of the attack. He was not injured.

Police had no immediate suspects, although a time-lapse surveillance video camera recorded a lone man in a white canvas hat as he approached the house, poured liquid from a red gas can, and struck a match. A neighbor has also provided police with a good description of the criminal.

"A shadowy offshoot of the Jewish Defence League has claimed responsibility" for the arson attack, the Toronto *Sun* reported (May 9). "A man claiming to be with the 'Jewish Armed Resistance Movement' contacted" the newspaper to say that the group was responsible. The call was traced to "Kahane Chai," a radical Zionist organization based in New York, the *Sun* reported.

Toronto JDL leader Meir Halevi denied any involvement with the attack.

A few days later, though, on the afternoon of May 12, Halevi and several other persons tried to break in to Zündel's fire- and water-damaged house. With him were Irv Rubin, leader of the Jewish Defense League of Los Angeles, and two "Anti-Racist Action" members.

Two Zündel colleagues photographed and identified the attackers. After a police chase, with Ernst Zündel riding in one of the police cars, the attackers were apprehended. They were released after questioning. (The Jewish Defense League has been identified by the FBI as a criminal and terrorist organization. For more about this, see *The Zionist Terror Network*, a 20-page illustrated booklet available from the IHR for $5.25, postpaid.)

Canada's media deserves a large share of responsibility for the criminal attack, Zündel says, because for years it has promoted a climate of hate by slandering and misrepresenting him and his work. He also puts some blame on some law enforcement agencies and a segment of Canada's "Human Rights industry" both of which have shown a consistent lack of even-handedness.

Zündel vows to remain in the building, and has announced plans to repair the damage. "I have been beaten, bombed, spat at... but Ernst Zündel will not be run out of town," he says. With some improvisation, he and his colleagues are carrying on work at almost the normal pace. "My work is legal and legitimate, and enjoys constitutional protection under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms," he says.

In two drawn-out trials in Toronto in 1985 and 1988, Zündel defended himself against a charge of "spreading false news" because he had published a reprint edition of a British booklet that contests the Holocaust extermination story. In August 1992 Canada's Supreme Court threw out the case on the grounds that the law under which Zündel had been charged was unconstitutional, thus acquitting him.

During both trials, "Zündelhaus" served as the hectic center of a well-organized legal defense campaign, and as living quarters for members of Zündel's volunteer team.

For more about the trials, see *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a 572-page large-format work compiled by Barbara Kulaszka (reviewed in the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and available from the IHR), and *The Holocaust on Trial*, a 544-page book by Robert Lenski (also available from the IHR).

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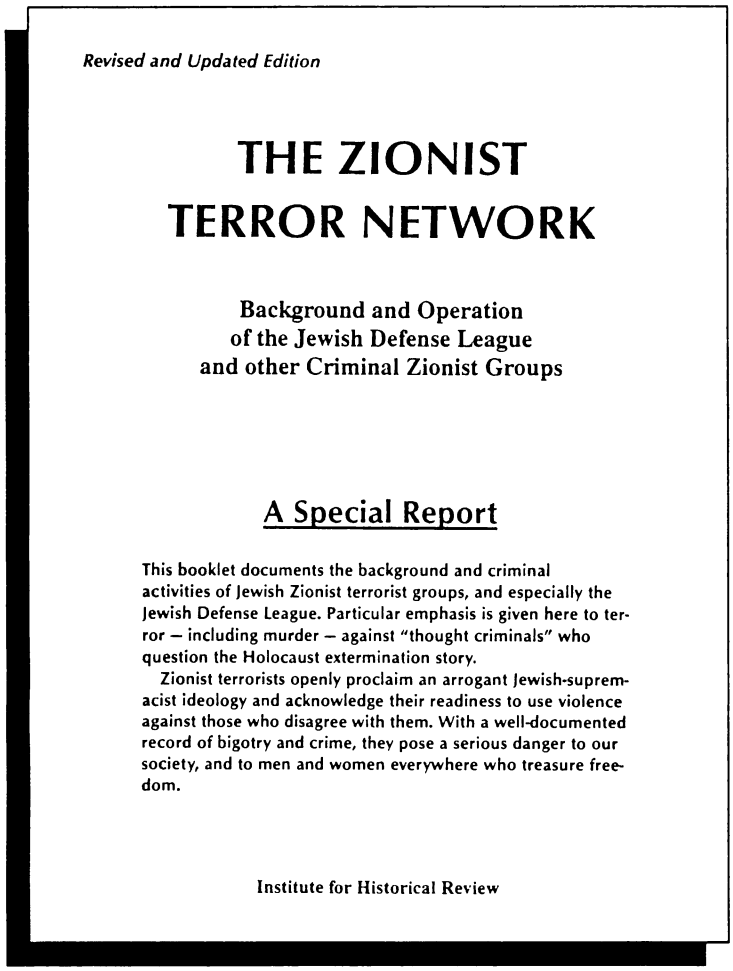
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Dissident Historical Views Banned in Germany

Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial'

MARK WEBER

In a drawn-out case that has received considerable international press attention, a German court recently sentenced Günter Deckert, leader of a small nationalist political party, to two years' imprisonment for "denying the Holocaust." A Karlsruhe regional court handed down the sentence on April 21, 1995, after Deckert had already been found guilty of "inciting racial hatred" during a November 1991 meeting he had organized in his home town of Weinheim.

American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, author of a widely distributed forensic report about the alleged execution gas chambers at former German concentration camps in Poland, spoke at the meeting. On the basis of an on-site forensic examination of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz and Majdanek, Leuchter concluded that these structures were never used to kill people as claimed, and simply could not have been used for that purpose. Deckert translated Leuchter's address, and made some supporting comments of his own.

Leuchter — who addressed the IHR conferences of 1989, 1990 and 1992 — was charged along with Deckert. However, the American specialist decided not to go to Germany to cooperate with German authorities in the legal proceedings against him.

Spirited and Defiant

Günter Deckert, 55-year-old federal chairman of the 5,000-member National Democratic Party (NPD), graduated with distinction in law from the University of Heidelberg. He is a former elected member of the city council of Weinheim, a city of 42,000 in southwest Germany. He first came into conflict with the authorities in 1988, when he was dismissed as a high school teacher because of his political views and activities.

While explaining that he does not "deny the Holocaust," or "question that Jews were maltreated" in the Third Reich, Deckert says that "we don't want to accept dogmas." At the same time, he questions the supposedly unique character of Germany's persecution of the Jews, estimates of the numbers of victims, and other specific claims. "The real question is, was mass murder possible in places now shown to the public as gas chambers? I say no. In what are shown as the gassing places, and with the techniques described, mass murder was not possible."

Throughout his protracted ordeal, Deckert has remained defiant and spirited. "I will continue the struggle for freedom of thought, research and opinion," he says. "In a democracy that deserves the title, this must be taken for granted." (For more on the Deckert case, see the July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 26.)

As Deckert walked into the Karlsruhe court on the day of his sentencing, supporters stood up and shouted "Heil, Heil for Deckert." As the sentence was read out, a dozen sympathizers in the courtroom shouted "Freedom for Deckert."

For his role in the 1991 Leuchter meeting, a district court in Mannheim convicted Deckert in November 1992 on charges of "popular incitement," "defamation of the memory of the [Jewish] dead," and "inciting racial hatred." The court ordered Deckert to pay a fine of 10,000 marks (about $6,300), and sentenced him to one year imprisonment (suspended for four years). State prosecuting attorneys had demanded a two year jail term.

Germany's highest criminal court, the Federal Court of Justice (*Bundesgerichtshof*), found that the original judgment had been "too general," and sent it back to the Mannheim court for reconsideration.

Expression of Understanding

In June 1994 the three-judge Mannheim district court reaffirmed its earlier verdict. While the court's decision to uphold the suspended sentence was remarkable enough — given the cultural-political climate that prevails in today's Germany — what was really astonishing was the courageous language used by the judges to explain their ruling.

They sympathetically described Deckert as a

> personality of strong character, conscious of responsibility, with clear principles. He fights for his heartfelt political convictions with great commitment and considerable expenditure of time and energy ...

Citing his outstanding academic record and his successful teaching career, the judges characterized Deckert as "a man of high intelligence," and expressed the view that "these intellectual attainments will help the defendant to avoid future entanglements with the criminal justice system." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Aug. 10, 1994)

Deckert's views were unpolemically described by the Mannheim judges:

> ... The defendant openly embraces revisionism. That is, he regards it as imperative to reconsider, through continuing research, even supposedly settled historical theses. In this way, he hopes to bring about a change in the generally accepted view of the National Socialist era, in history writing and in the media, notably with regard to the issues of German war guilt and the destruction of the Jews.

The judges also commented with understanding on the social-political context of Holocaust revisionism:

> The politically right-wing defendant is not an anti-Semite in the sense of the National Socialist racial ideology, which ultimately denied the Jews the right to life ... On the basis of his pointedly nationalist outlook, though, he bitterly rejects the ceaselessly insistent emphasis on the Holocaust by the Jews, along with financial, political and moral demands by them against Germany on the basis of this, even today, nearly 50 years after the end of the war.
>
> In his view, mass murders of Jews by means of gassing never took place in the National Socialist concentration camps ... We do not ignore the fact that, on the basis of the persecution of the Jews, extensive claims of a political, moral and financial nature are made against Germany — even today, some 50 years after the end of the war — while at the same time the mass crimes of other nations remain unpunished ...

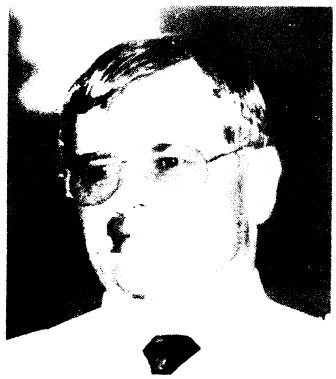
Storm of Criticism

These words from the Mannheim court predictably set off furious criticism from the usual circles. Prominent newspapers and politicians, along with Jewish groups in Germany and abroad, denounced the sentence as too lenient and sharply criticized the judges' expression of empathy with the defendant. Newspapers in Germany and the United States devoted greater attention to these criticisms than to what the judges had actually said, or even to the facts of the case itself.

In an editorial denouncing the ruling as a "judicial outrage," the *New York Post* (Aug. 20, 1994) told readers: "By their manifest sympathy for Deckert's efforts, the Mannheim judges throw the reality of this crime into question, legitimating so-called 'Holocaust revisionism' and injuring Germany's international image."

Mockery of Independence

Reaction was not confined to mere words. Several days later — in a move that mocks Germany's boast of an independent court system — the Mannheim court presidium announced in a terse statement that two of the three judges of the Mannheim district court, would be replaced immediately. "Health reasons" were cited.



Günter Deckert

The Federal Court of Justice once again reviewed the Mannheim court ruling, and in December 1994 ordered a regional court in Karlsruhe to set a new sentence. The result was the two-year jail sentence announced on April 21.

"Holocaust denial" is not protected under Germany's "Basic Law" guarantees of freedom of opinion, the country's highest court has specifically declared. In an April 26, 1994, ruling, the Federal Constitutional Court stated that "denial" of the Holocaust extermination story is a "provenly untrue" and punishable assertion.

This action reversed a surprising March 1994 ruling by the Federal Court of Justice, which had found that to dispute claims of gas chamber killings in wartime German camps is not a crime. It declared that Deckert's statements did not violate the law.

Shaky Foundations

Jewish organizations such as the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles promptly condemned that ruling. A prominent national newspaper, the staunchly pro-Zionist daily *Die Welt*, declared (March 16, 1994): "One wipes his eyes in astonishment ... Whoever denies Auschwitz not only attacks the human dignity of the Jews, but shakes the basic foundations of this society's conception of itself."

A similar view was expressed by California's most influential daily paper, the *Los Angeles Times* (editorial, March 18, 1994), which denounced the ruling as "irresponsible." In a letter to the *Times*, which was not published, the Institute for Historical Review commented:

> The call by the *Times* to outlaw in Germany any public dispute of claims of gas chamber killings at Auschwitz and other wartime German camps is arrogant and insulting. Germans should have the same right as Americans, Canadians, Japanese and other nationalities publicly to question aspects of the Holocaust story. There should not be one standard of democracy for Germans, and another for Americans and everyone else. Or does the *Times* believe that "Holocaust denial" should be criminalized in the United States?
>
> Fred Leuchter, a recognized American execution hardware specialist, is not a "neo-Nazi," as the *Times* asserts ... This charge is a scurrilous falsehood.

Amidst all the clamor, there were a few voices calling for calm and reason. In a front page editorial (April 7, 1994), the influential nationally-circulated German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* warned against further moves to criminalize dissident views of the Holocaust story. "Recognition of the truth is not something that can be compelled. To forbid lies is laughable," it admonished.

A few weeks later, another *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* editorial declared: "Historical truth cannot be established by law. This would not be appropriate in a country dedicated to liberalism, however painful or awkward this might be in individual cases.

Second Class Democracy

"Holocaust denial" is illegal in Germany. German law makes it a crime for a person, "in a manner that could disturb the public peace, publicly or in a meeting" to "approve, deny or trivialize" genocidal actions "carried out under National Socialist rule." Germany's parliament sharpened this law in September 1994, making offenders liable to fines and up to five years imprisonment.

It is also unlawful in Germany to display, import or export symbols or signs of "unconstitutional parties or organizations," including the swastika, distinctly National Socialist songs, certain rune symbols, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and other National Socialist writings, and the raised arm greeting. Likewise illegal is "propaganda material" directed "against the liberal democratic basic order or the principle of understanding among nations."

A growing number of persons have been punished under these laws in recent years.

Germany's special laws give it a second-class status among the world's "democratic" nations. Germans are not permitted the same freedom of expression that is taken for granted in almost every other country. Views that are perfectly legal expressions of opinion in most of the world, including the United States, are unlawful in Germany.

Slanted Coverage

American press coverage of the drawn-out Deckert case has been slanted and error-ridden. News reports in the *New York Times* (March 17, 1994) and the *Los Angeles Times* (August 11, 1994), for example, inaccurately characterized Fred Leuchter as a "neo-Nazi."

Leading German newspapers and politicians, as well as Ignatz Bubis, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, praised the recent two-year jail sentence of Deckert. His revisionist views, said Bubis, are not simply a matter of right-wing extremism, but a direct attack upon Germany's constitution.

Example for Others?

Bubis wants the other European countries to follow Germany's example and ban dissident views of the Holocaust story.

"A man such as Deckert would not be punished in the Netherlands, in Great Britain or in Denmark. In no other European country would he be brought before a judge. It is time for the European countries to busy themselves with this." (*Die Welt*, Aug. 30, 1994)

"I opposed and protested every step in the policies which led us into the Second World War. Especially in June 1941, when Britain was safe from German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to attack Stalin, I urged that the gargantuan jest of all history would be our giving aid to the Soviet government. I urged we should allow these two dictators to exhaust each other. I stated that the result of our assistance would be to spread Communism over the whole world. I urged that if we stood aside the time would come when we could bring lasting peace to the world. I have no regrets. The consequences have proved that I was right."

— Herbert Hoover
radio broadcast
August 10, 1954

Executive Fired for Translating *Journal* Items

Because she helped translate three reference articles published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, a long-time executive of the German National Tourist Office in New York has been dismissed.

Michael Kranefeld, Regional Manager of the Office, announced on May 9 the immediate dismissal of its manager of sales promotions, Elke Berg, who is also the wife of *Journal* Editorial Advisory Committee member Friedrich Berg.

"We had to dismiss her... We do not tolerate anti-Semitism," Kranefeld said. He added that Elke Berg had worked for the Board for 18 years, and that her role in the translation "was the first anyone here knew about her views."

Elke Berg, a native of Germany whose former name is Kniepkamp, married Friedrich Berg in 1988. She had helped translate three technical articles that appeared several years ago as appendices in two issues of the *Journal*.

The three articles, which are devoid of any political content, were originally published in Germany in 1938, 1943 and 1944. They were translated "by F. P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp," and appeared as supplements to essays by Friedrich Berg. The first was published in the Spring 1986 *Journal* as an appendix to "The German Delousing Chambers." Two others were published in the Winter 1988-89 *Journal* as appendices to "Typhus and the Jews."

Revisionist Books Seized in German Police Raid

In a March 27 raid of the Grabert publishing firm in Tübingen, Germany, criminal police seized all available copies of a new book of Holocaust revisionist scholarship.

The banned work is a 400-page large-format anthology entitled *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte: Ein Handbuch über strittige Fragen des 20. Jahrhunderts* ("Foundations of Contemporary History: A handbook on controversial questions of the twentieth century").

It contains 17 carefully researched essays by leading revisionist scholars in Europe and North America, including Carlo Mattogno, John Ball, Friedrich Berg, Robert Faurisson, Udo Walendy and Ingrid Weckert. Compiled by Ernst Gauss (regarded by the authorities as a probable pseudonym), it was published late last year.

Criminal indictments are likely against the publisher, Wigbert Grabert, and at least one of the individual contributors.

Police seized the books on the basis of a court order, issued without a court hearing, requested by the state prosecuting attorney's office in Tübingen.

More than 30,000 copies of *Grundlagen* reportedly had already been distributed before the March 27 raid.

In its court order request, the prosecuting attorney's office stated:

> The [book's] team of authors regards the systematic and planned killing of people of Jewish faith, which was carried out under National Socialist rule as the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question," from a revisionist view, and comes to the conclusion that there was no deliberate annihilation of the Jews.

The book is dangerous, the office claimed, because it "denies the National Socialist genocide of the Jews during the Third Reich in a way that could disturb the public peace," because it "injures the honor of Jews" in Germany who had been persecuted during the Third Reich, and because it "denigrates the memory of Jews" who lost their lives as a result of Third Reich polices, "especially in concentration camps."

In Germany

Revisionist Center Offers 'Truthful History'

An important German publishing center dedicated to the "truthful treatment of German and European history in this century" has been turning out an impressive series of books and booklets.

In cooperation with noted German historians and publicists, the "Contemporary History Archives/ Cultural and Contemporary History" center ("*Archiv der Zeit/ Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte*") has set for itself the ambitious mission of organizing a central archive and library of important twentieth century documents, testimonies and other records. Chairman of the seven-member board of directors is Waldemar Schütz, author of numerous historical works. ("*Archiv der Zeit*," 83022 Rosenheim, Brückenstr. 1, Germany)

An important project of the center has been a booklet series, "German History in the 20th Century" ("*Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*"). Each booklet in the series is some 30 to 45 pages in length and sells for about seven dollars.

Among the titles in this series are:

Umsturz 1933 ("Upheaval 1933"), subtitled "An Attempt to Solve the Crisis of the West," a 30-page booklet about the National Socialist "seizure of

power" in Germany. Written by Georg Franz-Willing, who is a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee.

Wiedergutmachung: Deutschland zahlt immer ("Reparations: Germany pays forever"), by Ernst Rumpf.

Anschluss 1938: Oesterreich und Sudetenland ("Unification 1938: Austria and Sudetenland"). With a calm presentation of facts, Dr. N. von Preradovich shows that the "union" of Austria and the "Sudetenland" region of Czecho-Slovakia with Third Reich Germany reflected the fervent wishes of the great majority of the ethnically German population of these lands. An antidote to the silly Hollywood "Sound of Music" version of history that is so widely accepted in the United States.

National-Sozialismus, by G. Franz-Willing.

Reichstagsbrand ("Reichstag Fire"), by Adolf von Thadden. Subtitled "The History of a Decades-Old Lie," this booklet tears apart often-repeated historical lies about the February 1933 arson of the German parliament building in Berlin. For years it has been claimed that the attack was secretly carried out by the Nazis, who then brazenly blamed the Communists for the deed. Citing a mass of information, the author shows that the arson was the work of a young Dutch Communist, Marinus van den Lubbe.

Books published by the revisionist center include several hardcover biographical works: *Josef Stalin*, by A. von Thadden; *Adolf Hitler*, by A. von Thadden (with a foreword by G. Franz-Willing); *Roosevelt und Churchill*, by G. Franz-Willing and A. v. Thadden.

Among the other noteworthy books published by the center are:

Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert ("Lexicon: German History in the 20th Century"). This large-size format, hardcover, 512-page reference work is compiled by Waldemar Schütz and Dr. Rolf Kosiek, with a foreword by the late Prof. Hellmut Diwald.

Die Sieger im Schatten ihrer Schuld ("The Victors in the Shadows of their Guilt"), by J. Nolywaika. A 350-page revisionist treatment of critical historical issues, including the question of German responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War, the background to the 1939 German attack against Poland, Hitler's Jewish policy, and the reasons for Hitler's 1941 attack against Soviet Russia. A response to the prevailing "re-education" view of history imposed in Germany by the victorious Allied powers in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Kriegschuldfrage der beiden Weltkriege ("War Guilt Question of the Two World Wars"), a 200-page book by G. Franz-Willing.

A catalog of this center's publications is available from:

Buchdienst DVG, Postfach 1180, 32352 Preussisch Oldendorf, Germany.

Jews as Underground Fighters in the Second World War

WILLIAM B. ZIFF

It was the Jews principally who resisted the Nazis in occupied Europe. Even though Jews were relentlessly hunted down, and automatically herded into small concentration areas, they were an important factor in the guerrilla resistance everywhere. Their percentage in these forces throughout the Continent was phenomenal, and their courage and ingenuity outstanding. Whole Jewish guerrilla units became famous for their exploits. Their desperate courage in battle was such that the Germans were said to have feared them particularly.

Judge Leon Meis reported that at least 40 percent of the French Maquis [anti-German "resistance" fighters] were Jewish, including whole independent Jewish units. The number of Jews among the Maquis fighters is indicated in the reproach made by collaborationist Radio Paris to the French Committee of Liberation in Brazzaville, for acclaiming ten saboteurs in Paris as "liberators and true Frenchmen." Expostulated Radio Paris: "Is Grieswachs, the perpetrator of two outrages, a Frenchman? No, he is a Jew, a Polish Jew. Is Elek, who was responsible for eight derailments and the deaths of dozens of people, a Frenchman? No, he is a Polish Jew. The other terrorists are also Jews: Lifshitz, Fingerweiss, Stockwerk, and Reiman."

A French Jew, Roger Carcassone, became the leader of the resistance movement in French North Africa, which played a decisive part in causing Algiers to fall into American hands [November 1942]. José Aboulker, Pierre Smadja, and Raoul and Edgar Bensoussan, also Jews, organized the underground

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William B. Ziff was a publisher and ardent Zionist publicist. In his 1944 book, *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace*, he called on the Allied powers to impose on defeated Germany a draconian peace that would include the shutting down of all factories, the closing of all universities, and the deportation to the island of Madagascar of all National Socialist Party officials. This essay is taken from "The Jew as Soldier, Strategist and Military Adviser," a contribution by Ziff in *The Hebrew Impact on Western Civilization*, edited by Dagobert D. Runes, and published in New York in 1951 and 1965.

itself, while still another Jew, Bernard Karsenty, became the liaison officer between the underground and the Allied Military Intelligence. The record here is superb.

When the appointed hour arrived, the underground methodically seized and arrested enemy officers and leaders, occupied police and staff buildings and cut telephone wires. Raphael Aboulker commandeered the main radio station and broadcast the news of General Giraud's return. José Aboulker seized the Central Police Office. Alfred Pilafort, another Jew, blockaded and held the main street; and when the regular [French] army rose in opposition under the influence of Vichy dictates, still another Jew, Lieutenant Jean Dreyfus, led the partisans into battle to protect the work of the underground. He and his men fought successfully until dawn, when the American troops landed. In this action Dreyfus was killed.

A group of Jewish partisan fighters from the ghetto of Vilna (Vilnius) in Lithuania, who took part in battles against German forces in the Vilna district.

Four thousand Jews succeeded in escaping the systematic extermination in Greece and took to the hills, fighting as guerrillas.

In Yugoslavia, Jewish partisans liberated whole concentration camps. There were 68,000 Jews in Yugoslavia in World War II, of whom 6,000 fought in Tito's [Communist] forces. Other thousands fought with Mikhailovich. One Jewish officer was Mikhailovich's aide-de-camp, and another directed operations of 50,000 men. General Velebit, head of the Yugoslav military mission in London, said in January 1945: "The leaders of the National Liberation Army feel deep gratitude for the magnificent contribution of the Jews in their ranks." One of the leading figures of the Yugoslav resistance, and later one of the three vice presidents of the provisional government, was Moische Pijade. Another was Dr. Alkalay.

An extremely high percentage among the Czech guerrillas were Jews. A much feared, purely Jewish guerrilla group, known as the "Jewish Patriot Brigade," operated from a mountain stronghold.

Reports coming out of Hungary through underground channels at the end of November 1944 indicated that the armed resistance against the Nazi government in Budapest was largely carried out by Jews.

In Poland, the guerrilla fighters had a high percentage of Jews who had escaped the ghetto, men who distinguished themselves by their resourcefulness and reckless courage in action. Jewish partisans out of all proportion to the existing numbers, served in every one of the raids on German outposts, estates and communications.

Cases of extreme individual heroism and daring were numerous. Baruch Goldstein who brought the first flame thrower into the ghetto, was responsible for the wrecking of four German ammunition dumps. Engineer Isaac Ratner ingeniously contrived delayed-action chemical gadgets by which many German gasoline reservoirs were wrecked. A Jewish partisan group which called itself "The Avengers," became a minor scourge, wrecking trains, destroying bridges, factories and German ammunition dumps. When the Red Army began its attack on Vilna [Lithuania], the first to enter the city were the Jewish partisans, who engaged the barricaded Germans in a bloody encounter in which neither side expected, or received, mercy.

Letters

Hollywood and the Spanish Civil War

For decades Hollywood and the rest of the American media have routinely portrayed the "loyalist" side in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) in an admiring and sympathetic way.

Good examples of such propaganda distortion of history are two widely praised wartime motion pictures. In "Casablanca," the 1942 Warner Brothers classic, Captain Renault reminds Rick Blaine, the suave American played by Humphrey Bogart, that he had fought in the Spanish Civil war on the side of the "loyalists." In "For Whom the Bell Tolls," a 1943 Paramount release based on an Ernest Hemingway novel, Gary Cooper plays the role of an idealistic young American fighter for the "loyalist" cause.

In reality the "loyalists" were Communists who imposed on Spain the same Bolshevik terror they had already brought to Russia. This included the killing and raping of thousands of priests and nuns, and the desecration of numerous Catholic churches. America's contribution to the "loyalist" cause was the Communist "Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

The Spanish Civil War was an overture to the Second World War, during which millions of European men, women and children, and prisoners of war, were slaughtered in a frenzy of revenge and hatred.

P. M.
Spokane, Wash.

Changing and Growing

Notwithstanding the incredible persecution around the world, the *Marco Polo* incident shows that revisionism is growing. I note that a "human rights" group in New York has finally spoken up against the persecution of revisionists in Germany — another sign that things are changing.

So don't get discouraged. Keep plugging away. You are doing a wonderful job.

K. B.
Brighton, Ont.
Canada

Obsequious Behavior

I despise the obsequious behavior of the publisher of the Japanese magazine *Marco Polo*. Such craven behavior serves only to augment the chutzpah and arrogance of the "eternally persecuted."

Groups such as the Wiesenthal Center are experts at using intimidation, boycott and pressure tactics. It is time to become militant and flex our own muscles.

A. B.
Long Island, N.Y.

Unicorns and Other Fantasies

The positively suffocating Holohoaxery of the past spring has got me edging toward a position of disagreeing with Abraham Lincoln: you can fool all the people all the time, by making sure that the tiny knot of those you do not fool are ignored and made to seem nonexistent.

Personally, I am about brimful on "gas chambers" and may stop reading about the subject. As I have mentioned, I classify them with unicorns; for centuries Europeans have believed tenaciously in the latter since at least the time of Aristotle, but in all that time never came up with one.

Maybe there will be centuries of belief in "gas chambers" with the same consequences. I am sure the 'hoax Establishment must stick by this fantasy, for to admit that it is all smoke would seriously undermine faith in anything else they allege. However, they did slink off from the fable of soap made from Jewish fat, after years of repeating it; I still remember the somber funeral procession in Israel portrayed on television, led by their Premier, Menachem Begin, where they buried soap bars with great solemnity. Maybe a scoot out from under the "gas chambers" might eventuate in the same way.

Regarding Holocaust revisionism: It is high time that wartime Jewry's profound involvement with the fortunes of Stalinism be given some attention again as partially involved in German wartime policy toward Jews. The Red Army hero Colonel-General David Dragunsky (twice Hero of the Soviet Union) insisted in a string of Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion pamphlets issued by the Novosti Press Agency in Moscow, e.g., *Aims and Tasks* (1983, p. 21) that 200,000 Jews were killed in action in the uniform of the Red Army. Students of war casualties surely realize that their final death toll was far higher than that, after one accounts for the consequences of lingering wounds and a wide range of war-related diseases and other privations. There is no longer any boasting of the immense part of Jews in the underground "resistance" movement fighting in street clothes behind the lines in ten or more countries, as was the case a generation ago.

All that is now down Orwell's Memory Hole. And the substantial complement of Soviet Army prisoners of war in a number of the German concentration camps seems likewise to have vanished from the record.

Getting back to Honest Abe: in the war of 1861-65 his regime was not above engaging in a goodly campaign of atrocity and related propaganda, which started right after the First Battle of Bull Run in July 1861, and grew substantially by the month. One might memorialize the following from

the editorial commentary in the *Continental Monthly* for April 1862 (pp. 607-608):

We were not at first disposed to believe in the many revolting stories, so generally circulated, stating that the rebels had actually in many instances boiled the bodies of Federal dead, for the purposes of obtaining the bones as relics. So frequently however has the story been repeated, and from so many trustworthy quarters that we are reluctantly compelled to admit that such...are very possibly founded on fact.

Eventually there came into existence a ponderous compendium of Union atrocity tales, *Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United States Officers and Soldiers While Prisoners of War in the Hands of the Rebel Authorities* (Philadelphia: United States Sanitary Commission, 1864).

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry of this official Union government agency concluded that "tens of thousands of helpless men are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture of burning at the stake," deliberately and intentionally inflicted by the Confederate Government, with the lead sentence of the conclusion reading: "The next step is to fix the responsibility for all these horrors." A lengthy review of this big book was published in the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly* for December 1864 (pp. 777-778), and read by a wide swath of America's most highly educated citizenry of that day.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

Fawning, Flawed Admiration for Keynes

Mr. Gray's review [Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*] of Robert Skidelsky's biography of John Maynard Keynes presents a view of the British economist's life and work that is replete with the distortions that naturally accompany a treatment of such fawning admiration. Leaving aside his obsequious characterization of Keynes the man ("In what other individual in this century had such a panoply of gifts been united under one brow?"), it is worthwhile to address a few of the writer's numerous distortions.

First of all, Gray implies that the concept of marginal utility was somehow developed by Keynes. For the economic tyro, marginal utility refers to the valuation placed on the last available unit of a supply of a homogeneous commodity, and can be measured in terms of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction caused by the addition or subtraction of one unit of the commodity item. This explanation of market prices as a result of consumer valuation and commodity supply was a revolutionary development in economic thought. It also lay at the heart of devastating critiques of socialism developed later. The problem here is that the concept of marginal utility was formally codified not by Keynes but by the Austrian economist Carl Menger in 1871.

Secondly, Mr. Gray introduces the Keynesian fallacy that "'effective demand' produced 'equilibrium' at less than full employment." This is simply not true. The world of economics can be characterized by two facts: there are infinite human wants and desires, and, we live in a world of scarcity. As long as scarcity is a fact — that is, forever (short of supernatural intervention) — there will always be a demand for labor, and jobs will be available for those who wish to work. With their policies of debt and inflation, Keynesian planners may cause abrupt economic dislocations, but without state interference the free economy will provide jobs for all those willing to work.

Mr. Gray mentions affinities between the policies advocated by Keynes and the economic policies of Germany's National Socialist regime. There is indeed an important link: Hitler's National Socialist economic policies were essentially Keynesian, as James J. Martin notes in "The Unresolved Question of Fascism," an essay published in his book *Revisionist Viewpoints*. A German edition of Keynes' *General Theory* was published under the National Socialist regime with a special foreword by Keynes. (The text of this foreword is reprinted in *Revisionist Viewpoints* [available from the IHR].)

In his famous (and lamentably out-of-print) volume, *As We Go Marching*, Old Right stalwart and revisionist historian John T. Flynn attacked Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policies as essentially fascist. Flynn identified the debt-based militarism of Europe's authoritarian regimes as implicit in Roosevelt's New Deal.

Mr. Gray also praises the arrangements of the 1944 Bretton Woods conference as a "workable world monetary order." This economic "New World Order" is indeed the Keynesian goal. At Bretton Woods the currencies of the world were taken off gold and pegged to the US dollar, a move that opened the door to devaluation of currency, inflation and, eventually, total fiat money around the world. With money no longer backed by commodity, the governments of the world, through their central banks, were essentially given free reign to inflate and inflate and inflate. Good, if you favor perpetual inflation, poverty, statism, and income redistribution (hardest hit are the elderly and disabled on fixed incomes), but bad if you are a decent working person with a family.

Incidentally, readers interested in economics might consider getting a copy of *The Failure of the 'New Economics,'* by the late Henry Hazlitt. This powerful line-by-line refutation of Keynes' *General Theory* leaves no doubt as to the proper status to which Keynes ought to be relegated.

A.C.
New York City

Keynes' 1936 German Foreword

In his review in the Jan.-Feb. *Journal*, Andrew Gray mentions that John Maynard Keynes contributed "a special preface to a 1930s German edition of *The General Theory*."

Readers may be interested to know that the complete text of Keynes' foreword to the 1936 German edition of *General Theory*, is printed, both in the original language (in facsimile) and in translation, in James J. Martin's collection of essays, *Revisionist Viewpoints*. [This 248-page softcover book is available from the IHR for $8.95, postpaid.]

In this foreword, dated September 7, 1936, Keynes wrote: "The theory of aggregate production, which is the point of the following book, nevertheless can be much easier adapted to the conditions of a totalitarian state [*eines totalen Staates*] than the theory of production and distribution of a given production put forth under conditions of free competition and a large degree of laissez-faire. This is one of the reasons that justifies the fact that I call my theory a *general* theory."

Martin comments: "Some economic scribblers hostile to Keynes want too much to attack him personally, as if he created the modern state, but appear to be most hesitant about challenging the state themselves. Keynes did not create the modern state. He found it the way it is, and, obviously, from the context of the German foreword, prepared a scheme or system to work within its confines; the greater and more total the state employment of his *General Theory*, the better."

E. Svedlund
Seattle, Wash.

Uncovering Truth

The other day [early March] I saw the last few minutes of a German television report about how you introduce your texts in Germany through the internet, thus avoiding German laws that punish those who deny the Jewish Holocaust. In this broadcast a spokesman for the Wiesenthal Center also spoke. He was furious, of course.

I encourage you all to continue in this fight to uncover the total truth about Holocaust lies. Thanks to people like you, the truth won't be manipulated, and Zionist lies will be uncovered.

J. F.
Majadahonda, Spain

Moscow Discussion of Suvorov's Thesis

I am sure you've noticed the deafening silence in our mass media about Viktor Suvorov's book, *Icebreaker*, which presents detailed evidence to show that Stalin was preparing to invade and conquer Germany and Europe in the summer of 1941, and that his invasion plan was thwarted by the German-led Axis attack against Soviet Russia.

I listen daily to the BBC and Deutsche Welle short wave radio, and I've heard not a word about it. Today, though (Feb. 1), on C-Span's re-broadcast of the "Moscow Evening News" television program, the name of Suvorov and the subject of his book broke through the ice. The simultaneous translator's voice drones simultaneously with bad inflection, so one has to pay close attention, which I hadn't until I heard the words "World War II ... painful questions."

Apparently a conference of historians was recently held in Moscow, at which the question was discussed of who was about to attack whom in 1941. It was noted that Suvorov [Vladimir Rezun] was not present. There was, however, an Israeli participant, who has written a book purporting to refute Suvorov and his thesis.

To another matter: have you read *Churchill's Deception* by Louis Kilzer? This recently published work is a concise and damning expose of Churchill's perfidy.

D. S.
Harrison, Tenn.

Soviet Military Buildup Recalled

I have read *Icebreaker* by Victor Suvorov, and would like to make a few comments based on my own experience in support of the thesis of this truthful book.

I am a former Soviet citizen of German ancestry. I witnessed and participated in the enormous Soviet military buildup against Europe in 1941 that Suvorov describes.

In 1941 I was serving in the Soviet Red Army in the Trans-Baikal region as a newly-recruited soldier with the 492nd Artillery Regiment of the 152nd Division of the 16th Army. The 152nd was a newly established motorized division organized from units that had been engaged in action against the Japanese army on the Siberian-Manchurian border.

In February 1941 we in the 152nd Division were informed that we would soon have the honor of participating in the most massive military operations ever of the Red Army. We were therefore forbidden from writing home to our relatives. The families of the officers were ordered to return to their home towns, and not allowed to write to their husbands and fathers.

Even before the German "Barbarossa" attack on June 22, 1941, officers made comments such as "I'm going to replace my fur boots in Paris" or "I'll change my boots in Berlin." After the German attack, officers made comments like "The sons of bitches beat us to it." So, it was obvious what was being planned, and the Germans had no choice but to spoil those plans.

In spite of all the propaganda truth about this chapter of history, I believe that the objective truth will prevail. Keep up your good work.

Helmut Krohmer
San Jose, Calif.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

The Most Ambitious Book-length Debunking to Date of the Works of Jean-Claude Pressac

AUSCHWITZ
The End of a Legend

by Carlo Mattogno

Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific . . . in the first rank of Revisionists.

—Prof. Robert Faurisson

Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* was published in 1989 to resounding worldwide media hosannas. It was followed in 1993 by his second opus, *The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing*.

Pressac's principal volume, more than 500 pages with hundreds of illustrations, promised conclusive evidence of the existence and use of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. Headlines proclaimed that the revisionists were finally vanquished, that Pressac had proven what the immense resources of the Holocaust industry had failed to prove in more than 40 years.

But in the mad rush to herald the news, the pundits hadn't bothered to *read* the book, presuming that the French pharmacist had accomplished what his publisher–the Klarsfeld Foundation–claimed he had. He hadn't.

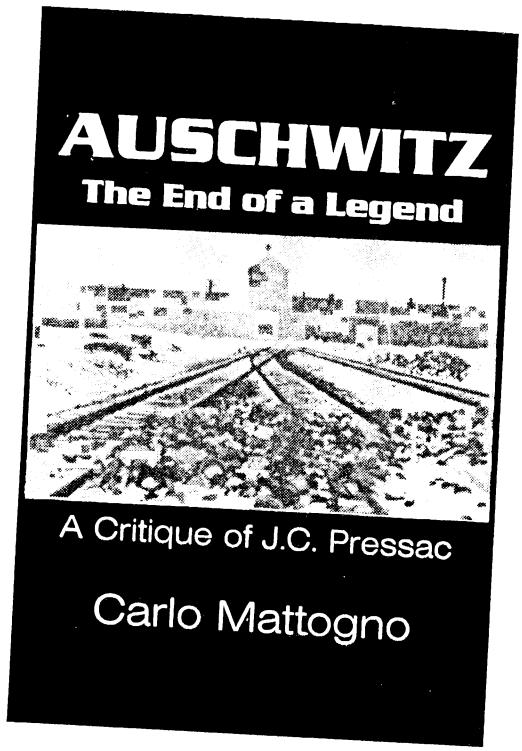
So Pressac's second volume was published, promising, in his own words, "*the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories*." This dog wouldn't hunt, either.

As you read ***Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*** you'll find out why. Here, Italian documents specialist Carlo Mattogno demolishes the boldest attempt to date– Pressac's back to back volumes–to answer the revisionist critique of the Auschwitz extermination story.

Mattogno shows how Pressac misinterpreted his own data in such a way as to assist not his fellow exterminationists, but the very revisionists he had set out defeat.

Mattogno demonstrates that Pressac's confused arguments confirm his ignorance of the structure and functioning of crematory ovens and gas chambers, and of the nature and use of the disinfectant Zyklon B; that Pressac's use of available statistics was arbitrary and largely fanciful, resulting in a *down-sizing* of the number of alleged victims; and that where information did not exist, Pressac simply invented it, often with mutually contradictory arguments in different parts of his thesis.

Mattogno's relentless deconstruction of Pressac's assertions and interpretations not only reveals the Holocaust Lobby hero's incompetence, it's a case study of the pathetic sloppiness the media can be counted on to overlook in the crusade against Holocaust Revisionism.



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Advance to Barbarism

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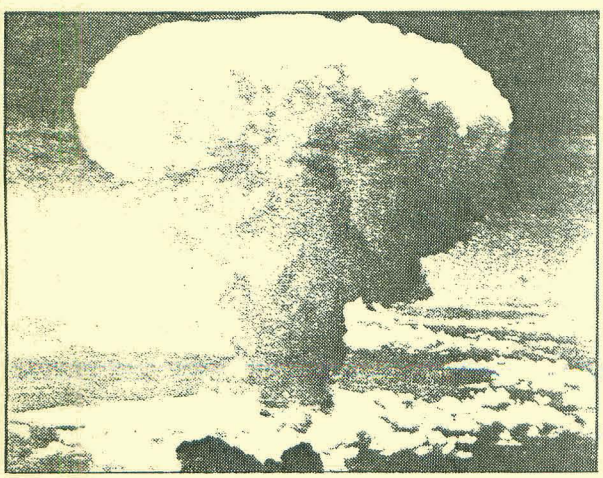

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